HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS IX.

AND THE

TEMPORAL RIGHTS OF THE HOLY SEE,

AS INVOLVING THE RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL,
AND POLITICAL INTERESTS OF THE WHOLE WORLD:

(With a notice of some important passages in the history of
Pope Pius the Seventh.)

BY M. J. RHODES, ESQ., M. A.

WITH THE APPROBATION OF THE

LORD BISHOP OF BEVERLEY,

AND RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY PERMISSION,
TO HIS LORDSHIP.

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TO M. J. RHODES, ESQUIRE,

RICHMOND, YORKSHIRE.

My dear Mr. Rhodes,

I thank you for allowing me to see your little work in defense of the Temporal Authority of our Holy Father the Pope, and you have my cordial approbation and blessing in proposing to publish it.

With kind regards,
I am, my dear sir,
truly yours,
† JOHN,
BISHOP OF BEVERLEY.

YORK, Dec. 10th, 1859.

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP

OF

BEVERLEY,

(By his Lordship's kind permission,)

THESE FEW PAGES ARE MOST RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED

AS A SMALL TESTIMONY

OF

VENERATION AND RESPECT

FOR

HIS LORDSHIP'S PERSON

AND

SACRED EPISCOPAL OFFICE,

BY

HIS VERY OBEDIENT HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

RICHMOND, Yorkshire.
Feast of the Immaculate Conception,
1859.

"Disguise it how men will, there is one great central question which rises above all others, and concentrates, in love or in hatred, for defense or attack, the enkindled hearts of the millions of civilized men. Amidst the rivalry of nations, the plots and counter-plots of statesmen, the musterings of armed forces, and the heated conflicts of public writers; this one question towers out predominant, and divides the world into two distinct and opposite arrays.

"Shall the Sovereign Pontiff the representative of Christ, the veritable head of Christianity, be hurled from his temporal throne, or shall he retain that position of freedom and independence which he has held for more than a thousand years?"

—Pastoral Letter of the Lord Bishop of Birmingham, Nov. 15th, 1859

HIS HOLINESS PIUS IX.

AND

THE TEMPORAL RIGHTS OF THE HOLY SEE.

I.

When our adorable Lord and Savior made his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, and the whole air rang with the hosannas of the multitude, some of the Pharisees said to him, "Master, rebuke thy disciples;" and he replied, "If these shall hold their peace the stones will cry out."

If I may with reverence adopt those words of my divine Master, I would say, that on the occasion on which we are met together if we were to keep silence, the stones would cry out. Yes, the very stones would reproach us! The consideration of the position of our holy and venerable Pontiff at this moment of trial is enough to cause emotion in the most stony of hearts.

I say, moreover, that if we were silent on the subject of the temporal interests of the Papacy at this time, the stones of our old abbeys, whether in the sweet meadow, by the meandering stream under the shady trees, or in the midst of towns, where the houses cluster around them; the stones of our old cathedrals which our Catholic ancestors built; and the stones of our parish churches, which their piety also raised and endowed, and by the side of which their bones repose, (God in his mercy rest their souls!) all these stones would call out against us. I say, too, that the stones of the halls where our children play, and the hearthstones round which they gather; yes, and the buildings where our citizens meet together in social and friendly intercourse; and the stones of old St. Stephen's, or of that newer building which has taken its place, where our parliament now meets to legislate for the country's weal, they would reproach us too.

By this metaphor, I mean to assert that the temporal rights of the Holy See are most intimately connected with our dearest and our most sacred interest, *religious*, *social* and *political;* and that is the main point about which I am about to speak, although I shall touch on other subjects as they come in my way.

II.

Pope Pius IX.

Our first duty, however, is towards our most holy Lord Pope Pius IX., who at present so nobly fills the Chair of St. Peter. His position, at this moment, is sublimely grand, and at the same time profoundly touching. If there is a splendid spectacle on earth, it is that of a man in elevated rank suffering for truth and justice sake. If there is a touching spectacle on earth it is that of a Father calling on the faithful ones of his family to sympathize with him, and to pray with him, in behalf of other children who have gone astray, who have turned their backs on him, forsaken him, and despised his authority. And both these spectacles we see in our present beloved Holy Father.

That he suffers, and suffers deeply, we know by many means. Just when the war was breaking out I read an account of his giving audience to about 150 persons, a great number of whom were French. It stated that "after he had passed through the ranks, and blessed each in particular with love and affection, the Holy Father addressed them all, and said:—'My dear children in Jesus Christ, I have just blessed each one of you, with all the effusion of my soul; nevertheless, before leaving you, my heart yearns to give you once more my benediction. We are on the eve of very important events. God only knows what he reserves for us all. You know that I am the visible head of the Catholic Church; you are its members. We form the church militant, and if the Pope is attacked, you know it is not against the individual it is directed, but against Catholicity altogether, of which he is the head and the chief. Gather close around me, unite every day your prayers with mine, thus let us assail heaven with a holy violence. Oh! if you knew, my children, how great is the strength of prayer; how great its power before God! Let us not cease, then, one instant, to pray for his Church, for his spouse so beloved!' After these words, pronounced with an emotion which found its echo in the heart of each one present, the Holy Father gave once more his benediction, which drew tears from nearly all who had the happiness to receive it."

I read again of him, full of that love which all good and noble men entertain for children; how, when some French family was presented to him, and there was a boy among the number, he asked that the boy should be left with him for the day. He took him around his palace, and pointing especially to that celebrated picture by Guido, representing St. Peter crucified with his head downwards, our Holy Father said to the boy, "There, my child, that is *my* picture." And that *is* his picture—his picture not only in suffering, but in courage and meekness, following in the steps of the holy Apostle, bearing his cross like him.

What is the purport of all his cries to us? What are they but the cries of a suffering father? How full of suffering are they!

And what immense cause he has for suffering! Let us reflect for a moment upon his position. In the first place, his elevated station of course gives him many means of information which we do not possess. He knows well enough many dangers that the Church and the world have passed through, of which we know nothing, because he is in constant communication with the envoys of the Emperor of the French, and others. He knows, too, many a cloud hanging over us now, of which we have no idea, and is uncertain whether it will break over us or not. He knows too the clouds on the distant horizon; and all this knowledge adds to his pain.

Again, how he feels the weight of his responsibility. Take the case of a man of this world, some sovereign or other person who has no fear of God in his heart, but who cares for his kingdom without caring for his people, who has a mere earthly end in view, one busied in making money, in getting a good name, or gaining dominion;—such a man has no cares of conscience. He has a conscience to prick him, I know, but he manages to smother that, and he goes on and looks out for those means which suit his purpose, caring not what God thinks of them if man is not offended, heeding no man's interests but his own, studying only self-aggrandizement.

Not so with our Holy Father; he is the Vicar of Christ upon earth; he has the interests of his Master to look after; he has the interests of 200 million souls to care for, and we know that he would rather give up life itself than forfeit one tittle of those interests. You see, then, the weight of responsibility he has upon him.

His tiara may be decked outside with diamonds, but its weight is that of lead, and its internal lining is of the thorns of the crown of Christ.

Added to all we have this most horrible and wicked rebellion against the most loving and tender of Fathers.

Who that has ever been admitted to the presence of Pope Pius IX., who that has ever knelt under that fatherly hand, and heard his loving "God bless thee, my son,"* but must carry the remembrance of that moment through all future years; and, by memory's aid, see again and again that paternal countenance beaming with heaven's own light, calmly radiant with a benignity, a dignity, a cheerfulness which words cannot express, which nothing but the grace of God can give, which befits that Holy Pontiff, on whom God has conferred the honor beyond compare, of declaring to the nations that no shadow of a question remains concerning the fact of the divine revelation of the Immaculate Conception of her, whom all generations revere as blessed. Does not this entitle us to say of him as the inspired writer sings of Simon the high priest?

"In his days the wells of water flowed out, and they were filled as the sea, above measure.

"He shone in his days as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon at the full.

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* Iddio ti benedica, figlio mio!

"And as the sun when it shineth, so did he shine in the temple of God.

"And as the rainbow giving light in the bright clouds, and as the flower of roses in the days of the spring, and as the lilies that are on the brink of the water, and as the sweet smelling frankincense in the time of summer.

"As an olive-tree budding forth, and a cypress-tree rearing itself on high, when he put on the robe of glory, and was clothed with the perfection of power."*

What that noble bearing and countenance expresses, is expressed, too, by his conduct at the present moment. Behold his conduct amidst his sufferings! What can exceed its grand nobility, its Christian meekness, its gentleness? No violence, no angry words, in the midst of his troubles; dignified but humble, courageous and fearless, but at the same time quiet, meek, resigned; so that, as has been said of his crucified Lord, when heaven and earth and hell beneath combined against him, there is one thing which can-

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* Ecclesiasticus, chap. L.

not be, do your worst; you can never bring contempt upon that venerable head.

What Christian greatness in every appeal he puts forth, in every answer to dutiful sympathy! Ever asking prayers for himself under these heavy trials, he never fails to ask them for those poor misguided rebels also. "Pray," he says, "pray for my poor children who have left me; pray not for their destruction; pray for their conversion; pray for their salvation; pray that they may be brought back." It reminds us of the cry of holy David of old, "Oh, my son, Absalom; oh, Absalom, my son, my son!" Is it not like that? It comes from the fond yearning heart of a father who cannot bear to see his children suffer, even through their own fault, of a father who knows that the position in which God has placed him, compels him, as a matter of duty, to act with firmness towards those children if they persist in their wicked rebellion. For the patrimony of the Church which is committed to him, he has sworn at the foot of the altar to transmit intact to his successors. That property is not his own; it belongs to us all; it belongs to the whole Church, to the whole world we may say; it belongs to God, and he cannot forfeit any portion of it.

I say that those appeals of a Father to his children are touching beyond what words can express; there shines throughout them the Christian spirit of seeking peace and concord, wishing no ill to his enemies, but only desiring their conversion. Let me read you a short prayer which he lately ordered to be said throughout the Roman States:—

"God of peace, lover and guardian of charity, grant to all our enemies peace and true charity. Vouchsafe them remission of all their sins, and deliver us by thy mighty power from their snares."

When the war arose, the Holy Father bade his children pray,—the world obeyed, and the waves of war were hushed; but, alas, in their stead rebellion reigned triumphant, and reigns so still.

Ah! methinks I hear you say, all this is true, but why this indulgence of feeling?—why dwell so long on this? Well, I own it, but what shall I answer? Forgive, I beg you, forgive a filial heart which, knowing its father comes of kingly race, knowing that he is nobler than earth's proudest great ones; pardon such a heart if, grieved and torn by the daily insults which a thoughtless time-serving press heaps on that venerated Father's head, it seeks a momentary solace in culling the sweetest words, the sweetest thoughts at man's command, to lay at that dear Father's feet, and so strives to offer what little reparation it is able; pardon it for lingering on in the contemplation of his sorrows; and, oh, I am sure of it, heartily do we all wish we could send across the seas, and across the mountains, an expression of the feelings which actuate us towards our dear Holy Father.

"O Holy Father," we would say, "accept our heartfelt homage, our filial sympathy; accept our sorrow that any of your children should be found heedless of their duty to such a Father; accept our firm resolve, by God's grace, to do all that in us lies to make amends to you for their unfilial conduct, and to win them back to you. Bless us, and pray for us, that we may be strong in this resolution. Bless us, and pray for us, that we may be worthy children of so great, so high-minded, so noble a Pontiff."

And we may conceive he would answer the respectful filial sentiments of sympathy and affection which we so desire to express, in some such words as these:—

"Yes," he would reply to us, "Yes, my dear children, with all my heart I bless you; but while I accept with joy this testimony of your affection, I wish you to be thoroughly convinced of the justice of my cause. Examine, I beg of you, deeper and deeper, the sacred rights which I am defending; they are not so much mine as God's; they concern you as much as they concern myself."

III.

No party question.

They concern us, they concern our country, they concern the whole world. I speak not as a partisan. I have not a particle of party spirit in what I say; I am a Catholic, heart and soul; I am so from the innermost convictions of my being; because, from the bottom of my heart I believe, and am ready, by God's assistance, to die for my belief; that the Catholic Church, alone, is built upon "the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone;" because I believe that to her alone, Christ has committed the custody and guardianship of the religion which he founded upon this earth; that he himself lives in her and animates her whole system; that she is the one, and the only one, commissioned to bear his name, and preach his truth before the nations; and that in no other name but his, which she alone can bear; and in no other faith but his, which she alone can teach; is there salvation to be found. But, precisely, because I am heartily a Catholic, therefore I am no partisan; because you can conceive no two opposites in the world so great, as the Catholic spirit and a party spirit.

Party spirit is always seeking its own interests, seeking the advancement of some human opinion, seeking the interests of a *party;* in short, it is true to its name. And in like manner the word Catholic denotes what it is, *universal.* The Catholic Church is animated by that divine and universal love which breathes in the breast of God himself; it is animated by the very Spirit of God. That Spirit which fills the world was poured out upon her on the day of Pentecost, and the very centre and sum of her system is love to all the world. And if she warns those who are treading in the path of error, following the broad road of destruction, is that want of charity? It is the fullness of her charity which leads her to use those words of loving strength to warn men of their danger. Will a mother use soft words to a child on the brink of a precipice? Will she let it dally with the danger?

But, let a man's religion be what it may, be he Turk, Infidel, or Pagan, be he Protestant or be he Catholic; and be his position in this world what it may, be he clothed in rags, or adorned with the purple of kings, the Catholic Church has a heart to love him;

she will seek his best interests as none other will. In each individual man she sees a being made after God's own image, she knows he has an immortal soul, meant for a throne in heaven, if he do but use God's gifts aright, and turn not from the light and grace God offers; she sees there a soul for which Christ died; and she knows that soul is of a value unspeakably higher than all the kingdoms of the world. So she can never be other than the truest friend of all mankind, and her interests are the real interests of the whole human race.

Therefore do I raise my voice in behalf of the temporal rights of the Papacy. Those rights are, humanly speaking, *necessary* for the Church to fulfill the work of love which God has intrusted her for the benefit of all mankind; all mankind are interested in defending them, and all true friends of mankind will unite in maintaining them.

IV.

Pope Pius VII. and England.

To shew you the large heart which beats

in a Papal breast, I will bring forward an instance, which, if it be a lengthy one, at the same time contains a history of which Englishmen cannot be too often reminded.

Englishmen, I fear, or rather, I hope, (for if their memories were not in fault we might expect greater respect for the Holy See) have forgotten what Pope Pius VII. underwent at the hands of the first Napoleon, because he unflinchingly refused to set aside his character of Pope; in other words of the common Father of mankind; and close his ports against British ships. Let me tell you what passed. I commence with an extract from a letter written by Napoleon I. to Pope Pius VII., and dated February 13, 1806.*

"Most holy Father, I have received the letter of your Holiness of the 29th of January. I enter into all your troubles. I quite understand that you must have difficulties; you can avoid them all by walking in a straight path, by not entering into a labyrinth of politics, and yielding to considerations for those powers, who, in a religious point of view, are heretics and out of the Church; and who, in a political point of view, are at a distance from your States, incapable of protecting you, and who can only do you harm. *All Italy shall be subject to my law.* I will not touch the independence of the Holy See in anything. I will even pay the expenses occasioned to it by the movements of my army. But the condition must be, that your holiness shall have for me in temporal matters, the same regard that I have for you in spiritual, and that you cease from useless consideration (*ménagemens*) towards the heretical enemies of the Church, and those powers who can do it no good. *Your Holiness is Sovereign of Rome, but I am its Emperor.* All my enemies must be yours. It is not fit, then, that any agent of the King of Sardinia, any Englishman, Russian, or Swede, should reside at Rome, or in your States, nor that any ship belonging to these powers should enter your ports."

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* These letters are given at full length by Monsr. le Chevalier Artaud, Histoire du Pape Pie VII.

What did the Holy Father reply? He wrote direct to Napoleon on the 21st of

March, the letter is before me, and I give you the following extracts.

"We commence," thus writes the Pope, "with that which your majesty demands from us: you wish that we should drive from our States all Russians, English, Swedes, and agents of the King of Sardinia, and close our ports to the ships of the three above named nations; you wish us to abandon our state of peace, and enter upon an open state of war and hostility with these powers. Will your majesty permit us to answer in the plainest terms, (*avec une netteté précise*) that, not on account of our temporal interests, but because of the essential duties inseparable from our character, we find it impossible to accede to this demand. . . . We, the Vicar of that Eternal World, 'who is not the God of dissention, but the God of concord, who came into the world to drive away enmities, and to preach peace to those who are afar off, as well as to those who are near,' (such are the expressions of the apostle,) how can we deviate from the instructions of our divine Founder? how contradict the mission to which we have been destined.

"It is not our will, it is the will of God, whose place we occupy on earth, which prescribes to us the duty of peace towards all, *without distinction of Catholics or heretics, of neighborhood or distance, of those from whom we expect good, or those from whom we expect evil.* It is not permitted us to betray the office committed to us by the Almighty, and we should betray it, if, from the motives adduced by your majesty, that is to say, if, as regards heretical powers, which can only do us harm, (it is thus your majesty speaks,) we were to accede to demands which would lead us to take part against them in war."

Now let us see how Popes can act as well speak. The Protestant historian, Alison,* tells us that after this intrepid answer from Pius VII., the troops of Napoleon spread over the whole Papal territory and surrounded Rome.

"The French minister soon after intimated that if the Pope continued on any terms with the enemies of France, the Emperor would be under the necessity of detatching the Duchy of Urbino, the March of Ancona, and the sea coast of Civita Vecchi, from the ecclesiastical territories; but that he would greatly prefer remaining on amicable terms with his Holiness; and with that view he proposed, as the basis of a definite arrangement between the two governments: '1. That the ports of his Holiness should be closed to the British flag, on all occasions when England was at war with France. 2. That the Papal fortresses should be occupied by the French troops, on all occasions when a foreign land force is debarked on, *or menaces* the coasts of Italy.' To these proposals, which amounted to a complete surrender of the shadow even of independence, the Pope returned a respectful but firm refusal, which concluded with these words: 'His majesty may, whenever he pleases, execute his menaces, and take from us whatever we possess. We are resigned to everything, and shall never be so rash as to attempt resistance. Should he desire it, we shall instantly retire to a convent, or the Catacombs of Rome, like the first successors of St. Peter; but think not, as long as we are entrusted with the responsibility of power, to make us by menaces violate its duties.'

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* **Hist. of Europe, chap. lvii.**

"The overwhelming interest of the campaign of Jena and Eylau, for a time suspended the attention of Napoleon from the affairs of Italy, but no sooner was he relieved by the peace of Tilsit from the weight of the Russian war, than he renewed his attempts to break down the resistance of the ecclesiastical government, and was peculiarly indignant at some hints which he had heard, that the Pope, if driven to extremities, might possibly launch against his head the thunders of the Vatican. A fresh negotiation was nevertheless opened; Napoleon insisting that the Court of Rome should rigidly enforce the Berlin and Milan decrees in its dominions, *shut the ports against the English flag*, permit and maintain a permanent French garrison at Ancona, and allow the march of French columns through their territories.

"The Pope expressed his readiness to accede to these propositions, and submit to their immediate execution, *except the actual declaration of war against England.*"

I am sure the generous hearts of Englishmen, whether Protestant or Catholic, or whatever their religion, would respond to this great fact, if they did but know it. It is much to be lamented that, at this day, Englishmen do not inform themselves better concerning the real facts of any case which comes before them; they too often gather their information from distorted reports in newspapers, without examining authentic sources.

The next step was this. The Emperor insisted on these conditions, *and the declaration of war against England.* A large body of French troops entered Rome. On the day of their arrival, the Pope called in the French ambassador and said to him:—"The Emperor insists on everything or nothing: you know to what articles proposed I will consent; *I cannot subscribe the others.* There shall be no military resistance: I will retire into the

Castle of St Angelo: not a shot shall be fired, but the Emperor will find it necessary to break its gates. I will place myself at the entry; the troops will require to pass over my body; and the universe will know that he has trampled underfoot him whom the Almighty has annointed. God will do the rest."

"Insults and injuries," Alison proceeds, "continued to be heaped upon the head of the devoted Pontiff." . . . . . "He continued, under these multiplied injuries, to evince the same patience and resignation; firmly protesting, both to Napoleon, and the other European powers, against these usurpations, but making no attempt to resist them." . . . . . "The head of the faithful is no longer anything but a prisoner in his own palace; but all Napoleon's efforts to overcome his constancy were unavailing." . . . . . . The last act of violence at length arrived. On the 17th of May, a decree was issued from the French camp at Schœnbrunn, which declared 'that the States of the Pope are united to the French empire; the city of Rome, so interesting from its recollections, and the first seat of Christianity, is declared an imperial and free city;' and that these changes should take effect on the first of June following. On the 10th of June, these decrees were announced by the discharge of artillery from the Castle of St. Angelo, and the hoisting of the tri-colored flag on its walls instead of the venerable Pontifical Standard. "Consummatum est!" exclaimed Cardinal Pacca, and the Pope at the same instant; and immediately, having obtained a copy of the decree, which the dethroned Pontiff read with calmness, he authorized the publication of a bull of excommunication against Napoleon, and all concerned in that spoilation, which, in anticipation of such an event, had been some time before prepared by the secret council of the Vatican. Early on the following morning, this bull was affixed on all the usual places, particularly on the churches of St. Peter's, Santa Maria Maggiore, and St. John, with such secrecy as to be without the knowledge or suspicion of the police. It was torn down as soon as discovered, and taken to

General Miollis, who forthwith forwarded it to the Emperor at his camp at Vienna. The Pope expressed great anxiety that care should be taken to conceal the persons engaged in printing and affixing on the churches this bull, as certain death awaited them if they were discovered by the French authorities; but he had no fears whatever for himself. On the contrary, *he not only signed it with his name, but had transcribed the whole document, which was of great length, with his own hand, lest any other person should be involved by the hand writing, in the vengeance of the French Emperor.*

Is not this like the good shepherd who gives his life for the sheep? and are these the men who deserve to be despised and ridiculed as in the present English press, which teems with the grossest insults against the Papacy; insults which I am sure must offend the moral sense of every generous minded Englishman, be his opinions what they may?

But to proceed. Alison says that Napoleon, with apparent truth, has protested that he was not privy to the sacreligious seizure of the Pope's person which followed this noble conduct; but he adds, that his acts showed his approval of what had been done.

The French authorities agreed that it was necessary to obtain possession of the Pope's person. His palace was stormed, and at last, to prevent further violence, the doors were thrown open, and the French general, Radet, "in a respectful manner, pale and trembling with emotion, announced to his Holiness that he was charged with a painful duty, but that he was obliged to declare to him that he must renounce the temporal sovereignty of Rome and the Ecclesiastical States, and that if he refused, he must conduct him to General Miollis, who would assign him his ulterior place of destination. The Pope, without agitation, replied, that if the obligations of a soldier required of him such a duty, those of a pontiff imposed on him others still more sacred; that the Emperor might "cut him in pieces, but would never extract from him such a resignation, which he neither could, nor ought, nor would subscribe." Radet then ordered him to prepare for immediate departure, intimating that Cardinal Pacca might accompany him on the journey. The Pontiff immediately complied; and the French General having assured him that nothing in his palace should be violated, he said, with a smile, "He who makes light of his own life, is not likely to be disquieted for the loss of his effects." Their preparations having been quickly made, the Pontiff took his place in the carriage, with Cardinal Pacca by his side, and escorted by a powerful body of French cavalry, soon passed the Porta del Popolo, and emerged into the open and desert Campagna. "Cardinal," said the Pope, "we did well to publish the bull of excommunication on the 10th, or how could it have been done now?" At the first post-house he wished to give some charity to a poor person, but upon inquiry of Cardinal Pacca, he found that between them they had only a papetto, or tenpence. He showed it, smilingly, to Radet, saying, "Behold, General, all that we possess of our principality!"

This noble cheerfulness of a good and

courageous conscience, is the very type and picture of the apostolic character, "sorrowful yet always rejoicing; needy, yet enriching many; having nothing, and possessing all things."*

The same Protestant historian, from whom I have so largely quoted, adds remarks which are too striking to be omitted. These sad events took place in the year 1809. Alison observes that, in the year 1807, Napoleon had said in a confidential letter to Eugene Beauharnois:

" 'What does the Pope mean by the threat of excommunicating me? Does he think the world has gone back a thousand years? Does he suppose the arms will fall from the hands of my soldiers?' Within two years," says Alison, "after these remarkable words were written, the Pope did excommunicate him, in return for the confiscation of his whole dominions; and in less than four years more, *the arms did fall from the hands of his soldiers.*" He then refers to the account given by Segur: "The weapons of the soldiers," says Segur, in describing the Russian retreat, "appeared of an insupportable weight to their stiffening arms. During their frequent falls, they *fell from their hands;* and destitute of the power of raising them from the ground, they were left in the snow. They did not throw them away, *famine and cold tore them from their grasp.* The fingers of many were frozen on the muskets which they yet carried, and their hands deprived of the circulation necessary to sustain the weight."

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* 2 Corinthians, vi. 10.

He also quotes Salques:—"The soldiers could no longer hold their weapons; *they fell from the hands even of the bravest and most robust. The muskets dropped from the frozen arms of them who bore them.*"

Alison then proceeds:—"the hosts apparently invincible, which he had collected, were dispersed and ruined by the blasts of winter; he extorted from the Supreme Pontiff at Fontainbleau, in 1813, by the terrors and exhaustion of a long captivity, a renunciation of the rights of the Church over the Roman States;* and within a year after, he himself was compelled, at *Fontainbleau*, to sign the abdication of all his dominions: he consigned Cardinal Pacca, and several other prelates, the courageous counsellors of the bull of excommunication, to a dreary imprisonment of four years amidst the snows of the Alps; and he himself was shortly after doomed to a painful exile of six on the rock of St. Helena! There is something in these marvelous coincidences beyond the operations of chance, and which even a Protestant historian feels himself bound to mark for the observation of future ages. The world had not gone back a thousand years, but that Being existed with whom a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years."

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* It must be remembered that no one more bitterly bewailed this act of human weakness than the high-minded Pope himself; he wrote privately to Napoleon to recall it, a week after it had occurred, and when he had obtained the assistance of his Cardinals, he formally revoked it three months afterwards. See an interesting article on Le Concordat de Fontainebleau, in the Correspondant for October, 1857.

I rest my excuse for this long digression on the extreme importance and interest of these facts. Well might a great politician exclaim, when urged to declare war against the Pope, "First shew me, from history, any hand which has ever been raised against that power and prospered!"

V.

The present Rebellion in the Papal States.

As regards the present miserable rebellion in the states of the Church, I shall say but little in detail, because I am rather striving to explain and defend the principle which it violates, than to expose all its individual enormities.

But I cannot let it pass quite without notice; and I must observe, in the first place, that any one, who will attentively read the accounts which we receive from Italy, may see there is no proof whatever, that the mass of the people in the Papal States desire any other government than the one which they possess. I am sure the Pope himself would not deny that reforms in that government may be required and desirable; and I am sure also that he would be the first to promote them if he could with prudence do so; he is prevented from doing so by the conduct of the revolutionary party; because (to use an English expression) when he gives an inch they take an ell.

When he came to the throne he gave ample reforms; and what did they do? They murdered his prime minister, and the Pope had to fly from Rome himself. The fact is, that the rebellious and infidel faction who agitate Italy, will be satisfied with no reforms; they want to be rid of the Pope altogether; and if they can accomplish this (which God avert) then they will want to be rid of all other authority, kingly and the rest, which stands in the way of their own lawless will. For the Italian people themselves, I have the greatest regard, only I wish they had more moral courage; I have lived long among them and I know their kind hearts; but I believe they are a timid people, and I believe they are really afraid of the dagger of the assassin, and that the fear of it prevents them from rising in defence of the Holy Father.

It is asserted that the Papal States are a hot-bed and a nursery for revolution throughout Europe, owing to faults in their government, which are assumed without any sufficient ground, and are alleged to be the cause of the existence of those secret societies whose net-work spreads like a foul disease underneath the whole of the seemingly fair outside of modern Europe. Now I firmly believe that the real reason why the efforts of those societies are so strongly directed against the temporal rights of the Papacy, is simply because that temporal sovereignty is the strongest and the firmest barrier in existence against anarchy and confusion. I believe it is this, and nothing less than this, which draws upon it the unquenchable hatred of those wicked spirits; and, I say, that to encourage their revolt against the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See, is to undermine the firmest thrones in Europe, and to expose her most flourishing states to the danger of democratical tyranny. Granting that some reforms might be of service, is rebellion to be recognized as the proper means for obtaining them? I do not deny but that there may be such an extreme case in which a sovereign may so utterly neglect his duties, be so tyrannous, so violate private rights and all natural laws, that his subjects may be absolved from their allegiance. There may be such a case; but who will dare to say, who has ever adduced anything approaching to an assertion, that such is the case in the States of the Holy Father? The two strongest accusations of this kind which are brought against him, are really nothing, if a man will but look at them with the eyes of common sense.

One is the Perugia matter. What was that? A city urged on by foreign emissaries—for it is known that arms had been sent there long before, from Tuscany—rose against its rightful rulers. Now, supposing Manchester, or some other large city in England, were to rise against the Queen, what would she do? She would send troops to put the rebellion down; and we should all think her perfectly right. Take the case of India. We know that we have just put down a bloody revolt in India, and we know that there are many accusations of cruelty brought against our authorities there. Now, be those accusations true or false, no one thinks of charging our beloved Queen with them ; no one says it is the fault even of her prime minister. And if there were excesses committed *by individuals* among the Roman troops, (which I do not for a moment admit there were, but which, of course, in every such affair is liable to happen, nay almost impossible to prevent) why is the Pope to be made responsible for them? It is the old story of the complaints against the Christians in the days of persecution. An early Christian writer says, that if the Tiber rose and flooded Rome, the cry was "The Christians to the lions! It is their doing." Or if the Nile did not rise and overflood its banks, it was still, "The Christians to the lions!" So in our own times, whatever happens in Italy, it is all "the Pope," it is all "priestly domination." The fact is, these men hate the Pope, they want to dethrone the Pope, nay more, they want to dethrone Christ Himself, and these are simply pretexts, and lame excuses.

Then there is the Mortara case; I must say a word about that also, because it is so much misunderstood. I say again, if only looked at from a common sense point of view, what can be simpler to any Christian mind? There is a law in the Roman States that the Jews are not to engage Christian servants; it is meant to prevent many evils, and is no doubt a wise and good law. This law was violated by a Jew who took a Christian for his servant. The Jew's child was at the point of death, and the servant baptized him. The child recovered, and grew to boyhood, and when it was found by the authorities that he was a Christian, it was thought fit to remove him from his parents lest his Christianity should be (if I may use the word,) suffocated by Jewish influences. We all know that baptism confers spiritual life, Protestants as well as Catholics profess it; at least the Anglican prayer-book speaks of baptism as a new birth. Now if our government suspected a father of administering slow poison to his child, to take away its *natural* life—if they had good reason to believe that the child's life was in danger, would they not feel it their bounden duty to remove that child from the parent's influence? And are we Christian men not bound to do the same to preserve *spiritual* life? That child's spiritual life was in danger; his heirship to heaven was in danger; Christ was in danger of losing a soul for whom he had shed all his precious blood. Was all that to be set at nought? I say it was a positive duty, not only of the Pope, it would have been the duty of any Christian government to have acted in the same way. The *Times* brought the case forward to show that there should be no Papal government, but a lay government, in which such things would not occur; but how could it escape notice that such an act would be as much the duty of a layman as of a priest? What was done to the boy? He was taken to school, is being carefully educated, allowed to see his parents, is as happy as possible, and rejoicing in being a Christian. I think, therefore, that no reasonable, no Christian man, can lay any stress upon that case.

It would be beside my purpose to enter upon a political account of the Roman States; I wish, however, that persons would take pains to inform themselves before they find fault; to touch only on one point, they would at once perceive what a striking and favorable contrast the Roman government presents over the Sardinian, in financial matters; and, as to a parliamentary system, what is it worth, if as in Piedmont, it is suspended the moment war breaks out? In reference to the demand for the secularization of the Roman government, I shall have a word to say further on.

VI.

All Catholics, of all nations, are bound to defend the Temporal Rights of the Church.

Let me first, however, set before you the ground upon which I maintain it to be the general duty of all Catholics, whatever their country may be, I might say of all men, if they did but know it, to protect the rights of the Holy See. Suppose it to be said, "I acknowledge the *spiritual* authority of the Holy Father, but why am I, an Englishman, to come forward in a political way, and use all my exertions to protect the *temporal* rights of a foreign prince?" My answer at once is plain. The Pope is not a foreign prince to any Christian, to any human being.

Let me take an instance. I will suppose what is probably an impossibility, but it will explain my meaning. Let us suppose that the King of Portugal became a priest, and was made Pope, still retaining his personal rights to the kingdom of Portugal. Now, suppose those rights to the crown of Portugal were in danger, would all Catholics be bound to rise to do their utmost to help him to support them? Certainly the fact of his being Pope would tie us closer to him, but, setting this aside, there would be no call whatever upon us to assist him; the kingdom of Portugal might go, and there would be no great loss to him, or to us; it would be a mere personal loss, and he would have less care on his head, as those who wish to overthrow the Pope say of his present temporal Sovereignty. But the Pope's title to the temporal Sovereignty of the States of the Church, although it is in one sense independent of his spiritual power; that is, though he might lose the temporal, but could never lose the spiritual supremacy; still it is the natural consequence of his spiritual power, and is given him to ensure his full and free exercise of it.*

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* In confirmation of this and many similar remarks which follow, I beg to refer to the authorities quoted in the Appendix; among them will be found an English translation of the Allocution delivered by our present Holy Father on the 20th of June last. I here subjoin an important extract from it, in the original Latin.

"Quamobrem cum Nos Apostolici Nostri muneris officio, solemnique juramento adstricti debeamus religionis incolumitati summa vigilantia prospicere, ac jura et possessiones Romanæ Ecclesiæ omnino integras inviolatasque tueri, et *hujus Sanctæ Sedis libertatem, quæ cum universæ Ecclesiæ utilitate est plane conjuncta,* asserere et vindicare, *ac proinde ipsius*

It is not a personal right. We do not, in defending him, defend King Mastai Feretti, but we defend Pope Pius IX. The States of the Church, as the name denotes, were given by pious men to God and the Church; they were given for the purpose of benefiting the sacred cause of religion, benefiting the Church; therefore, every member of the Church is not only interested, but is bound to do his uttermost to defend them. The Pope holds them in trust for us all.

Let me give you another instance. Suppose some malicious person strove by an unjust law-suit to get possession of the private property of the Mayor of this town, should we be bound to defend his rights? As his

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Principatum defendere, quo ad liberam rei sacræ in toto terrarum orbe procurationem exercendam Divina Providentia Romanos Pontifices donavit, illumque integrum et inviolatum Nostris Successoribus transmittere, idcirco non possumus non vehementer damnare, detestari impios nefariosque perduellium subditorum ausus, conatus, illisque fortiter obsistere."

At the end of Section XII. will be found the open declaration of His Holiness, as to the *necessity* of the civil principality for the Holy See.

very good friends we should no doubt do our best in a neighborly way, but we should have no especial call beyond that. But if any property which he held as Mayor, if any rights of the mayoralty were attacked, every townsman would feel bound to do what he could to defend them. It is precisely the same thing with the Pope, though of course his rights are more sacred. He is, as I said before, King *because he is Pope;* and *because he is the Head of the Church, and holds these States for the good of the Church, therefore every member of the Church is bound to assist him in his duty of protecting them.* Let no one, then, say that it is un-English, or that we are going out of our way to help a foreign power. *He is not a foreign power in that sense of the word.* We know, that as a matter of fact, the Pope may be chosen from any nation under the sun.

And how important are those temporal rights! Who can overrate their vast importance? Ah! we do not think enough of this. People do not sufficiently consider what would be the consequence if those rights were gone, and the Pope reduced to be the mere subject of some temporal Prince.

In the first place, can any of us be dutiful children of our God and Savior, and consent to see the Head of his Church so reduced? Is not the mere idea of the Vicar of Christ the representative of God himself, being subject to a temporal power, revolting to the law implanted in every human heart?

VII.

Glance at the History of the Papacy.

If we take a glance at the history of the Popes, we shall see plainly how God has made temporal sovereignty a necessary accompaniment (I use the word, necessary, not in its absolute, but its ordinary sense) of their spiritual sovereignty, so that it grows out of it, and belongs to it, as its natural right. In the early ages of the Church, God was pleased to give a manifest testimony of her Divine origin, by miraculously supporting her and extending her limits without any human power, and in spite of superhuman obstacles. Her very existence and, much more, her growth under such circumstances was a miracle; it ceased with her infancy; when she reached maturity God supplied her with the temporal sovereignty, which, though no part of her essence, is nevertheless her natural and proper mode of action, and as such, her right. If need were, God would again, most certainly stretch out his arm in miraculous defence of the Church and her Supreme Pontiffs; but, to uphold her without having recourse to human means, would be a departure from the ordinary laws of his Providence.

Let us go back eighteen hundred years; or further still, to those days of old, when Daniel the Prophet explained the vision to the King of Babylon; how the stone cut out of the mountain, without hands, struck the great statue, and how the stone grew, and became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth; and that stone represented a kingdom which the God of heaven would set up, and which should never be destroyed, but should stand forever.* There is the origin of the Papacy,

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* Daniel, ch. ii.

for the Papacy is the centre, the concentrated life, the head and heart of that kingdom.

Thence let us pass on to the time when our Lord began his public life; when Andrew findeth his brother Simon, and brought him to Jesus, and Jesus looking upon him, said:—"Thou art Simon, the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas, which is interpreted, Peter," or in English, rock. And again, when in Cæsarea Philippi, that high promise was given,—"I say to thee, thou art Peter, and on this rock, (this Peter) I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." And later still, let us recall the threefold commission given to St. Peter by that eternal Word, whose words shall never pass away, "Feed my lambs; Feed my lambs; Feed my sheep."

This charge conveyed at the same time a right to the means required for its fulfillment in such a shape as God's wisdom might provide.

Strong in the might of that divine commission the Galilean fisherman, mighty in his weakness and rich in his poverty, goes to plant his throne in proud and haughty Rome on her seven hills, the Babylon of the nations. And he enters her lordly streets, and gazes, with a sigh, on her luxurious palaces, which hardly covered the licentiousness that reigned within them; on her heathen temples, where vice was worshipped under the most beauteous idol forms; on her amphitheatres, reeking with human blood, where gladiators fought with beasts or with each other; where young senators and patricians assembled, decked in purple robes; and ladies in soft tissue clapped their delicate hands, and raised their tender voices with delight, when by a dexterous stroke some human heart poured forth its life-blood, and the gladiator fell quivering to the ground. That shout—

> "He heard it, but he heeded not—his eyes
> Were with his heart, and that was far away;
> He recked not of the life he lost nor prize,
> But where his rude hut by the Danube lay,
> There were his young barbarians all at play,
> There was their Dacian mother—he their sire
> Butchered to make a Roman holiday:
> All this rushed with his blood."

The wickedness then reigning in Rome no

tongue can paint, and this kingdom of the powers of darkness, that despised stranger now treading her streets was to overcome; that proud city was he to reduce to the dominion of the cross, to make it the centre of the kingdom of Christ. There was to be his throne.

What were to be the weapons by which he was to win it? Suffering and death. When he and his fellow-laborer, St. Paul, whether in the palace of Pudens, in their own hired house, or in the Mamertine prison, had ended their apostolic work of preaching and of baptising, of planting the glorious kingdom of Christ, which silently but strongly grew under their hands with superhuman speed; then at last God took them to their reward; St. Peter was crucified with his head downwards, and St. Paul won the palm of martyrdom by the sword; bequeathing to Rome, in the words of an early writer, their faith with their blood.

O glorious apostles! pray for us at this moment! Pray for our Holy Father, your successor; may I not, without presumption, say, a successor worthy of your great name?

What followed then? Three centuries of martyrdom, three centuries of suffering, three centuries of toil and hardships, of weary but brave endurance. Strengthened and marvelously consoled by the grace of God, the blessed martyrs shed their blood; holy Pontiff, valiant soldier, tender woman, infant child, gladly yielded their sweet lives for that dear Lord, who, on the cross, had redeemed them by his own. It was that blood which watered the roots of the Papacy, it was "that red rain which made the harvest grow;" it was that suffering which like winter's frost, and winter's storms, passed over the ground till the seed had taken firm root. Those were the rivets which fastened the Church to the rock of Peter. Pontiff after Pontiff died by the sword and by persecution; till at last, in the early part of the fourth century; after Constantine had ascended the throne; St. Sylvester, who had retired for safety to Mount Soracte in the neighborhood of Rome, beheld armed troops on all sides approaching the place of his retirement, and turning to his companions with cheerful countenance he exclaimed, "Behold, now is the acceptable time: behold, now is the day of salvation." Then he went forth with joy to the soldiers, anticipating the martyr's crown. They led him to the Emperor, but not to martyrdom.

For Constantine, warned in a vision, had sent for the holy Pope to beg at his hands the sacrament of baptism, and the story goes, that when those healing waters cleansed his soul, his body was likewise cleansed of a foul leprosy with which he had been afflicted. In a short time St. Sylvester was seated in the imperial Lateran palace.

Then rose splendid churches and gorgeous basilicas too numerous to relate, and where once the devil had been worshipped under the name of the false god Apollo, there was founded, over the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles, that venerable former church which bore his name, and is now replaced by the present St. Peter's. Nor were rich endowments wanting, and God sent sunshine on his Church, though its gleams were fitful, and many a fierce blast was yet to come. Still those three centuries of suffering had been enough to root well and firmly the goodly tree which was now to rear its lofty head, and give shelter to the birds of the air.

From those three centuries, as well as from many subsequent events, we may learn how the Catacombs become the Church's home, when she is shorn of that temporal sovereignty which is the natural right of her supreme Pontiffs.

Now mark the wondrous ways of Divine Providence. Constantine builds him a palace of pleasure, and founds a noble city far away from Rome, on the sunny shores of the Bosphorus, and there he removes the seat of empire.

Never, after the time of which I speak, did an Emperor reside at Rome; there was, indeed an Emperor of the West, but Rome was no more his capital. St. Peter was now to be its King. Emperors did not, indeed, cease occasionally to persecute the Church; even so late as the seventh century we find a holy

Pontiff, St. Martin, borne ignominiously from Rome to Constantinople to the presence of the Emperor Constans; we see him laden with chains, shamefully abused, and sent to die in exile in the Chersonese, because, in the heroic fulfillment of his sacred duties, he had dared to condemn a heresy respecting the person of his Divine Lord; concerning which the Emperor, like men now-a-days, thought there had been enough disputing, so in his wisdom of this world he had forbidden either side to utter another word.

If Popes were now in subjection, is not this just the treatment God's truth might expect from the spirit which breathes all round us? proclaiming, as it does, aloud, the sacred rights and liberties which belong to falsehood! bidding men forbear to proclaim that truth can be but one; and deeming it unchristian to teach that it is sinful to question truths which God has himself revealed?

Before we quite turn from these centuries of suffering let me ask, "Is there any heart so callous as to wish to send the Popes back to such times?" We have seen the result of their having no temporal power. The only means they had of defending the independence of their ministry, says a French writer, was to die; and they died like heroes and like Christians. But do we wish it to come over again? Let no man say that it cannot come over again in these days. Witness the horrors of the great French Revolution! the massacre of the Carmes! Witness the reign of terror in Rome, when the Pope was absent! Witness but lately Count Anviti falling under the daggers of savages. Let travelers write to the *Times* and express their astonishment at finding Garibaldi the most gentlemanly of heroes, instead of the ruffian they expected; let fair speeches and fine words abound as they may; trust it not! it is "seeming! seeming!" a fair silken mask which hides a hideous monster's face beneath it! That boasted moderation need not surprise us while the rebel's work is prosperous; they can afford to be moderate while unopposed; God grant their present quiet be not the tiger's pause before his spring; be not the lull before a storm of blood ready to burst upon that fair Italian land.

VIII.

Historical origin of the Pope's Temporal Sovereignty.

And now we approach a most important topic—the rise of the temporal power of the Popes. There is this which plainly marks it as the gradual silent work of God. No one can point, with precision and certainty, to the precise time when it did arise. This much, however, is plain; the Popes never sought it, they never grasped at it, they took no means to obtain it. God put it in their hands, and before God they are bound to keep it. It grew as the tree grows from the soil. You cannot say when the acorn first bursts its shell and the lordly oak springs forth. Tell me whence the broad river draws its waters; tell me of all the streams, all the little rivulets and fountains that feed it, and then I will tell you every source which gave rise to the temporal sovereignty of the Popes. Like everything natural, everything providential, we can only catch indications of it here and there in the days of its infancy, for I speak of times long before Charlemagne.

There have been several theories about it. Some have said that it was given by Pepin, and Charlemagne, and Louis le Debonnaire. Doubtless these sovereigns used their efforts in behalf of the temporal rights of the Holy See, and augmented those rights, but they did not found or confer upon it the original temporal sovereignty. Others have said that the temporal power of the Popes arose when the Greek Emperors retired; but that cannot be, because before that time, we find signs of its existence.*

As I have said it grew imperceptibly, as all God's works grow. No doubt the retirement of the Greek Emperors from Italy, very much assisted to promote it; and no doubt Charlemagne and Pepin helped to protect it, but it is one thing to protect a sovereignty which already exists, and another to bestow that sovereignty. If we consider those stormy times, we shall not wonder at our being unable to ascertain the precise moment when it commenced, and to trace its early growth; nor shall we wonder that the times themselves produced it, as their natural produce.

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* An early number of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, observes that even from the times of St. Gelasius and St. Symmacus, (the 5th century,) "we find many acts of civil jurisdiction exercised in Rome by the Supreme Pontiffs, as manifestly appears from Anastasius, the librarian."

It was a fearful thing, that breaking up of the old heathen Babylon, when the whole world was convulsed with the death pangs of the giant Roman empire, and the foolish Romans still hugged their old idolatry, for they were still half pagan,—when the Goths, and Huns, and Vandals, and other endless barbarian hordes poured out their wild multitudes upon Italy;—when Alaric came in his fierceness, in spite of the hermit on the Alps, who fell on his knees and implored him to stop and not desolate the kingdom,—but he replied, "I hear the voice of God within me, saying, go and lay waste Rome." For the idolatry of Rome was to be chastised, but St. Peter and St. Paul did not forget their flock. The same mysterious impulse which had sent forth Alaric to desolate

Rome, inspired him to command that the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul should be respected, and that every one who entered those churches should be spared. He entered the city with his barbarian army and gave it up to pillage. One of his captains entering the house of a nun, asked her for treasures; by a wondrous inspiration, the holy woman led him straight to a room, and flinging open the door, displayed to his astonished gaze the rich treasures and the sacred vessels of St. Peter's; the accumulated wealth of the gifts of the pious. She said to him; "I have these treasures in my keeping, but they belong to St. Peter; I cannot restrain your arm—touch them if you dare." The soldier, departing in amazement, informed Alaric, who immediately ordered that those treasures should be held sacred and conveyed at once to the Church of St. Peter, and that every one who accompanied them should be protected. Then, in the midst of the wild barbarian sacking of the city, might be seen a procession of Christians bearing aloft the sacred vessels, raising high their voices in hymns and songs, unhurt, uninjured, bearing their treasures in safety to the church, assisted by the very hands of the pillagers of the city.

What a spectacle was that! There was the hand of God stretched forth in visible protection of the rights of Peter. No wonder men sought St. Peter's shadow, and took refuge under the protection of his mighty but peaceful sway.

The Romans still persevered in their wicked idolatry in spite of the chastisements they had received, and then came Attila the Hun, with his 500,000 followers, who are described as more like demons than men. And still St. Peter, in the person of his successor, the holy Leo, interposed in defence of the people; Attila, while yet in the North of Italy, was met by that intrepid Pontiff; not at the head of an army, but with a few ecclesiastics; in the calm, quiet, majestic dignity of our present holy Father. What passed we know not, but this we know, the course of that human flood was turned. It is said that Attila afterwards declared that he had seen St. Peter and St. Paul in the air threatening him if he advanced.

Well might the Romans hail as King a holy Pope, who by his single voice, animated by the might of God, saved them from the merciless fury of that barbarian chief and his 500,000 savages. But all was not over yet. Man's wickedness was not over, nor had God ceased to scourge. Genseric came, one of the Vandals. He set sail from Africa, and when asked by the pilot, "Where shall I steer?" He answered, "Leave that to the winds; they will take me to the country God is angry with." He landed near Rome. Again the holy Pope went forth with a few unarmed ecclesiastics, and though he did not succeed in turning him back, he obtained for his people the best terms he could, and proved himself the Father of his flock.* The horrors of that time were so great that when the Greek General, Narses, took the city in 552, it was the fifteenth time it had been taken by an army within sixteen years.

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* I must thank that excellent popular work, the Clifton Tracts, for the assistance it has rendered me.

St. Gregory the Great, who lived at the end of that century, exclaims at the conclusion of his Homilies on the prophet Ezechiel, "Blame me not if henceforth I cease from these discourses; on all sides are we surrounded by the sword; on all sides in iminent danger of death. Some return to us deprived of their hands, others we hear of in captivity, others slain. I am compelled to restrain my tongue from the exposition of Scripture, for my soul is aweary of my life. My harp is turned to mourning, and my organ into the voice of those that weep." The same holy Pontiff used his exertions to redeem the captives, and even permitted and commended the sale of the sacred vessels of churches to raise the sums for that purpose.

Ah! people soon find out who is their true Father! their true Protector. What throne can boast a grander and a firmer title than grew up naturally for the Popes under these circumstances? When the Greek emperors abandoned Italy altogether, after long useing their power in it for their mere selfish ends, the Popes alone could rule the land.

The Church was the only regularly organized society at the time, and the Pope was the only person at the head of any organized body. All the rest was confusion, and it naturally followed that those who wished for peace and order wished him for a sovereign.

IX.

Charlemagne did not confer the Temporal Sovereignty.

A few remarks are called for upon the claims sometimes raised on the ground that the Popes received their temporal sovereignty from Charlemagne. It has been said Charlemagne gave it, and that therefore, his successors can take it away again. Now, in any case this would be strange reasoning, that if I give a thing to God, or even to man, my descendants may take it away again when they please.

But Charlemagne did not give it. He did not claim any sovereignty over Rome; otherwise we should not find him, as in the year 774, when he visited that city, asking and obtaining permission from the Pope to enter it, that he might pay his devotion at the Churches.*

It is a fact, however, that the Pope, when a part of his dominions were invaded and torn from him by the Lombards, after vain efforts to recover them by peaceful means, applied to Pepin, the father of Charlemagne, to rescue them from the hands of the invader: Pepin did so, and restored them to the Pope.

But in his act of donation, there is not a word respecting the city of Rome, nor concerning other territory dependent upon that Duchy; he treats it as indubitably already subject to the dominion of the Pontiff. Charlemagne confirmed the donation of Pepin, and added other territory. His son Louis, styles both his father and grand-father *restorers* to the Holy See of the rights which it already posessed.†

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* Rohrbacher, Hist. de l'Eglise, liv. liii., who refers to Anast. in Adr.

† Civiltà Cattolica, Nov. 1850.

As regards Charlemagne, I cannot do better than give you another extract from the same letter of Pope Pius VII. to Napoleon I., from which I have already quoted on another point. That venerable pontiff wrote thus:—

"Your Majesty says that our relations towards you are the same as those of our predecessors toward Charlemagne. *Charlemagne found Rome in the hands of the Popes;* he recognized, he unreservedly confirmed them in the possession of their domains, he augmented them with new donations, he never pretended to any right of domain, or superiority over the temporal sovereignty of the pontiffs, he never claimed from them either dependence or the homage of a subject.....

"But, in fact, ten centuries since the time of Charlemagne have rendered useless all further investigation. An undisturbed possession of a thousand years is a title the most clear which can exist between sovereigns; the fact of that possession has proved, that, whatever may have been the understanding (*les intelligences*) between Charlemagne and the Pontiffs, in those obscure times and under those tempestuous circumstances, the Holy See has never, in reference to her temporal domains, entertained any other relations with the successors of Charlemagne, than those which exist between every absolute and independent sovereign, and other sovereigns."

X.

The Popes and Modern Europe.

The Popes did what they could for Europe in annointing Charlemagne as Emperor, but what times came after Charlemagne! The world was like a huge unruly boy, and played with human life and human rights as a reckless child plays with butterflies. Those were times of heroic goodness and diabolical vice. It was an iron age; and who was it that tamed that proud age, schooled the world in that its boyhood? Who but the Popes?

Those Popes are accused of arrogance. I wish that the persons who accuse them of it would consider the times they lived in. Popes had to deal with such men as our King John; who, once when in want of money, as those kings always were, asked from a rich

Jew at Bristol the sum of 10,000 marks. The Jew was not disposed to give it. Accordingly, he was sent to prison, and by the king's orders one of his teeth was to be drawn every morning till he gave the sum required. There was no chloroform in those days; and, if there had been, not much chance of his getting any. They began with his back teeth, and for seven days he bore the operation, but when the eighth morning came his courage failed, and he gave security for the 10,000 marks.*

Those were the wills that the Popes had to break; those were the tyrants they had to deal with; and was that to be done by fair words and soft silken measures? The devil then stalked without a mask; he did not put on the honied tones of diplomacy, and dress like a fine gentleman, as he does now-a-days, concealing the foulest wickedness under the sacred names of liberty, patriotism, and the like.

What a noble spectacle those high-minded Popes present, battling to the death for right against lawless might! Men such as St. Gregory VII., who, after a life-long struggle in the cause of God, was forced to fly from Rome, and breathe his last on the shores of Salerno. Oh! how those dying words of his shine all down the pages of history, grander than the grandest conquests it records:—"I have loved justice and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile."

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* Lingard.

Noble, sainted Pontiff, pray for your successor now!

'Twere long to tell all the benefits rendered to humanity by the Church in those wild times, and the Popes were the life and strength of her sacred cause. Protestant historians have acknowledged how much civilization owes to her; and the battle so often fought by her heroes in behalf of the poor and the oppressed, in behalf of liberty and of God, fought against tyrant kings, who neither feared God nor regarded man, that battle of suffering could never have been sustained but for the irresistible might of the appeal to Rome. What would have become of our own St. Anselm or St. Thomas á Becket without the Popes to support them? Their great names have been defamed and their noble histories falsified by the flatterers of Kings, whose wickedness they dared to resist when duty plainly demanded resistance; but, as might be expected, in these later days, when men are awakening from the slumber of prejudice, it is becoming evident to all that these very men, whose cause was the cause of the Popes, and with whose names have been coupled every offensive epithet, who have been styled proud, arrogant, and ambitious, were in reality humble and heroic servants of their God; the truest friends to their country; the protectors of the oppressed; friends to the friendless, and fathers to the poor.

Take alone that marvelous victory achieved by the Church over those mail-clad barons, when she succeeded in obtaining a cessation from war and bloodshed for four days in the week, besides the seasons of Advent, Lent, and all solemn festivals! What an insight this truce of God, as it was called, gives us into the state of those times and into the services the Popes rendered to the world, for, as I have said, the Popes were the mainstay of every such achievement.

It was the Popes, too, who befriended and encouraged learning and the fine arts; they taught the world its alphabet: till at last the silly upstart world began to give itself airs; it learned Latin and Greek; it took, in short, a literary turn, and began to fancy it knew more about things than the Popes themselves, who had schooled and educated it from infancy.

Then came what Wordsworth, in his stanzas on St. Bees, designates as,—"Reformation's sweeping overthrow;" when men were taught that doctrines revealed by God were to be subjected to their own private criticism; that the voice of the Holy Ghost no longer spoke visibly on earth, but that each man must seek it in himself, as his own fancy might lead him. Principles which I hesitate not to say, if carried to their result, are utterly subversive of all religion and of all society. Happily the men who hold them very seldom act upon them, they mostly follow some party of fellow-men with whom they agree, or some leader they choose (perhaps unconsciously) for themselves. Of course, having no longer God for their leader, they are but troops of blind led by the blind; but still, inconsistent as it is, more order is thereby kept than if each blind man was to grope about for himself, and dispute the road with every neighbor he met.

Against these new woven wiles of Satan the Popes did what they could; but, alas! too many of their children gave no heed to them, and there was nothing for it but to pray, and hope for better things.

Then were opened to the Church the distant regions of the East, as well as Africa and America, and she sent forth her sons, warriors of Christ, to win for him those heathen souls. But it was a dreary, worldly time for the states of Europe. Although there are saints who shine as stars all through it, still it was a seed-time of infidelity and irreligion; one Catholic King* was even found, who, for his own wretched ends, could be-friend the Ottomans in their attack on the dominions of a brother Catholic. The Popes had done their utmost to resist the withering grasp of the Mussulman; and had Christendom but been true to them and to herself, it may be many a fair region of Asia, and those holy plains of Palestine, might now be flourishing under Christian rulers.

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* Louis XIV.

Popes cannot command impossibilities, though they have done wonders; it is my object to show you that they are the true fathers of mankind, and that all through they have done their best for the truest interests of their children.

During these last ages of civilization who can say what the world has lost by turning a deaf ear to its Father's voice? If war is not so frequent, is it not far more bloody? and is it not so frequent as to disgrace the civilization we boast of? Do congresses, where selfish interests contend, and where diplomatists endeavor to balance nicely the power of each, as if each were ready to grasp for himself if he dare; are these assemblies, where expediency, too often, well nigh rules all things, to be compared to the voice of the Father of the Faithful, entrusted by God with the common interests of all, and lovingly and impartially arbitrating among them? But it is useless to dwell on happiness so imaginary, except that the consideration of what Europe is, and of what it might have been, had civilization attained its growth under a Father's fostering, guiding hand, may well deepen our reverence for that authority of which men make so light. Although the arts and sciences come not directly within the sphere of that authority, yet, had its warning voice been duly heard, we should not have witnessed those high gifts of God prostituted to the service of man's vilest passions; we should have escaped that outcry of shallow learning which declared that science was opposed to revelation, and we should sooner have attained the knowledge which profounder research has now afforded, that the deeper you penetrate into the secrets of science, the more plainly does she show herself the handmaid of religion; the more strongly does she confirm (alas! that men should need it!) the voice of God.

Better, by far, would it have been for scientific research itself, if, like dutiful children, her sons had listened to the Church and to the Popes, protesting that any deduction contrary to divine revelation was by that very fact proved false.

But, alas! the world became impatient of the yoke of Christ, it ran wild in its wilfulness, and now nothing will content it but to endeavor to reduce to the state of a subject the Vicar of Christ himself.

Let it not be said that it was merely in the days of old, such as we have glanced at, that the Popes required the protection afforded them by their temporal sovereignty; or that in these days their ruling influence is less needed. How would the Church have fared without it, in the hands of such men as Louis XIV., Joseph II. of Austria, Napoleon I., or the present Victor Emanuel of Sardinia, the Archbishop of whose capital is even now in exile for conscience sake, and whose government has laid sacrilegious hands on possessions consecrated to the Most High? and without the independence afforded by their temporal sovereignty to the Popes, how could they have adequately protected the Church in all these cases? That sovereignty both obtains them greater respect in the eyes of mankind at large, and also ensures them that freedom of action so necessary to the due exercise of their high pastoral duties. It is, so to speak, a palace which shelters them from the storms of the world, and from whence they may, in calm safety, watch over the welfare of mankind.

Behold that long line of Popes! behold that venerable time-honored dynasty of those Fathers of the world! what earthly dynasty of kings or emperors can compare with it? And shall we sit by and see this most sacred, most benificent of powers shorn of its temporal dignity; dishonored in the eyes of men, because robbed of its earthly sovereignty; crippled in its work of love because deprived of the means with which God Himself has endowed it freely to labor for the benefit of the universe?

Forbid it every sense of veneration for what is most high and sacred on earth! Forbid it every consideration of prudence in behalf the common interests of the whole human race!

XI.

Proposed secularization of Roman Government.

But at least, it is said, consent to the secularization of the Roman Government. In other words, let the Pope cease to be Pope in his own dominions. If anything is meant by the secularization of the Roman Government, it is either to place it in the hands of a lay ruler, or in other words to deprive the Pope of his temporal sovereignty; or it means that he is merely to reign as a constitutional monarch, after the pattern of England, laymen being entrusted with the reins of government under the Pope. It cannot mean merely the admission of laymen to the numerous though more or less subordinate offices of government, for that is already very largely done; and moreover, it must be observed, that the ecclesiastical state is not a caste, it is supplied from the ranks both of the peasant and the prince, it is open after due training, to all whom it pleases God to call to that high dignity,—it would therefore be a manifest hardship on the people, to *exclude* the clergy from even the lower offices of state, by opening them *only* to the laity; at present they are open to both, and neither class can justly complain.

A moments reflection will show, that it would be manifestly inconsistent with the Pope's office to make over the reins of government to laymen, or to subject himself to the trammels of a constitutional government. We know very well that in a constitutional monarchy like the English, the power rests in reality with the Houses of Parliament; it is true the Sovereign's consent is required to their Acts, but it is rarely if ever withheld. Suppose for a moment this were the case in Rome, and suppose the parliament there was to pass a divorce bill, such as has lately, alas! become the law in England; appointing a court where man sits to put asunder those whom God has united, those who have sworn before God that death alone shall part them! suppose such an act to pass in a Roman parliament, the Pope must suffer martyrdom itself rather then consent to such a violation of God's law.

Again, short of this, how many measures in reference to education, to the property of convents, to matters more or less connected with religion, might not a lay government desire to enforce in opposition to the Pope, their Sovereign? It is plain such a state of things would be anomalous, it would at once place everything in a wrong position; no thoughtful man, it seems to me, could seriously advocate it, unless an enemy of the Papal power altogether.

The same reasoning which proves the necessity of the independence of the Popes, and consequently of their temporal sovereignty, proves also the necessity of their remaining perfectly free from the influence of their own subjects. They are in a position different from that of any other sovereign, they are the representatives of God upon earth, and, as such, they must be absolute and perfectly free rulers in their own domains, assisted by those councillors their wisdom may select. They have responsibilities before God which none other has, they are entitled therefore to a freedom of action before man on grounds which no other sovereign can allege.

XII.

Religious Interests Involved.

Having considered the subject in a general point of view, I now invite your particular attention to my assertion that the temporal rights of the Papacy are most closely connected with the *religious*, *social* and *political* interests of all mankind.

That their most important *religious* interests are concerned is so evident, that it is surprising any one should require to be reminded of it. True indeed it is, that whoever the Pope may be, and whatever may be his temporal condition; be he reigning in Rome or prisoner at Fontainbleau, breathe he his blessing on the world from the balcony of St. Peter's, or from the recesses of the catacombs; spiritual Father of the world, true Pope he must ever remain.

In this sense his spiritual authority is altogether independent of the temporal. The temporal may be destroyed utterly, but the spiritual cannot be lessened in itself any more than you can injure the soul by maiming the body; but, by that or other means you may impair the soul's full power of external action, and though the spiritual power of the Popes can never *entirely* lose its external means of action, (for that would be tantamount to its destruction,) still its freedom of action might be so impaired as to deprive us of the *full* benefit we should otherwise derive from its blessed influences, and which, indeed, is vouchsafed to us at present. The world cannot pluck the sun from the heavens, but it can obscure it by its mists; it can never overthrow the Papacy, but it might succeed in interposing its vile fogs and murky clouds between our longing eyes and that sun of God's Church below! We might still see our way, but could no longer bask in the full warmth of those cheering beams.

The temporal sovereignty of the Popes is the human and natural means appointed by

Providence for a divine and supernatural end. God, of course, might have chosen other means, but it is a fact that he has chosen this. He might dispense with human means altogether, but man must never abandon them, excepting at God's command. It is God's way to work through certain means; to expect Him to change His way, and to work by a constant miracle, is presumptuously to tempt Him; it is to throw oneself from a pinnacle of the temple as Satan wished our Lord to do, because God had promised that his angels should take charge of Him.

Now, viewed in this light, reflect how important, and, in a human sense, necessary, the temporal independence of the Holy See is, both to the actual free exercise of the supreme Pastoral office, and to our own participation in the fullness of those blessings of which God has made his chief Pastor the channel.

It is necessary that the Pope should be a perfectly free agent, and it is necessary that all the world should know him to be so. If he is not so he cannot adequately fulfill his duties; and if he is not known to be so the world will not be sufficiently assured that it is really Peter who speaks in him. One of the conditions essential to render the Pope's voice authoritative in matters of faith and morals, is, that he should speak not as a mere individual, but as Pope. Now, perfect freedom of action is universally recognized as a condition that is necessary to enable the Pope to speak to the universal Church, effectually and beneficially, as Pope; and the temporal sovereignty being the divinely appointed means both for securing this freedom of action in itself, and for assuring the Catholic world of its existence, we are, on this account alone, most deeply concerned in upholding it.

But this is not all; besides faith and morals, besides that range of questions appertaining to faith and morals, in which we believe the Church possesses the divine promise of never failing protection from error; there are the administrative rights and duties of her chief Pastor. It is the concern of the whole Church, and the concern of each one of her children, that the Sovereign Pontiff should exercise these powers with all possible freedom of action. The more unrestrained their exercise is, the wider will be the influence of our holy Religion, the fuller our participation in the benefits of St. Peter's heaven-commissioned rule. But who can calculate the evils which might ensue, even in these matters, from the Head of the Church being subjected to the control of any temporal power? Witness the unhappy concessions wrested by Napoleon I., at Fontainbleau, from his captive, Pius VII., but no sooner wrested by the Emperor, than revoked by the noble-hearted Pontiff.

Consider the multiplicity of subjects nearly affecting the interests of the Church, which come before the Supreme Pontiff and the different courts or congregations over which he presides. Excellent as the members of those congregations may be, can we reasonably expect every one of them to be a hero in virtue, and proof against all the influences which might be brought to bear upon him by a secular government, desirous to influence his voice? Even suppose every one of these numerous individuals to be a very angel of fortitude and constancy, it is manifest that prudence itself might often, under such circumstances, require the abandonment of some design from which the Church at large, or that of a particular province, would have reaped incalculable benefit.

Take the case of the establishment of the English Hierarchy. Let any one reflect upon the blessings it has brought with it,—our peaceful synods, the restoration of diocesan action, and the promise of many more benefits to come. But what an outcry on the part of the English Government against it at first! and what frenzy seized on the English people, or a large portion of them! Not all, for I well remember, myself, a Protestant friend at the time, who was unutterably shocked by the foul insults against things most sacred which that time brought forth, so that he exclaimed, "Can this be a Christian nation?" He said to himself—"Well, after all, it was not thought necessary to ask the Emperor's leave before St. Titus and St. Timothy were ordained Bishops of Crete and of Ephesus."

He thought the language of our Cardinal

Archbishop truly great and worthy, and he was not alone in his disgust at the madness which carried away our countrymen. I remember perfectly well another excellent Protestant friend remarking to me, "Can it be that the reason for proclaiming the establishment of the Hierarchy so near the 5th of November, was the anticipation, on the part of those friendly to it, that it would cause such an amount of angry folly in the country as to shock all thoughtful people, and win them to their side?" So true is it, that, to whatever amount of outward opposition any bold act in a good cause may give rise, there will be many a secret heart who will appreciate your act aright unknown to yourself; you tremble at the momentary tempest you have aroused, but the day of judgment will satisfy you of the lasting good which has really been wrought.

But I am digressing;—my object is to show how certain we may feel that the English Government would have moved heaven and earth to prevent the establishment of the Hierarchy, had there been a secular government in Rome, through which they could have influenced the Holy Father; and possibly, in that case, considerations of prudence might have compelled him to abandon that most beneficial measure. How many cases may suggest themselves of this sort! Say, some favorite education scheme of the government, which the Church apprehends it would be dangerous or impolitic to agree to. The secular government at Rome might be interested in being on good terms with the rulers of the country where the pernicious scheme is being hatched; they are glad to do them a service, and they throw every obstacle they can in the way of the Pope and his advisers, to prevent them from coming to a decision adverse to the government they are themselves interested in serving. I need not cite other instances, the danger seems to me self-evident.

Truly those must entertain an exalted idea of Ecclesiastical authorities, who imagine that they would always be proof against such efforts to pervert them from the paths of justice, in the numerous matters which come before them concerning the temporary government and affairs of the Church, and not involving any decision on points of faith and morals. No one can esteem and reverence them more highly than myself, but I know they are human, and we are not justified in allowing them to be placed in a position which would expose them to superhuman temptations in their high and arduous task of the administration of the affairs of the Church for the common benefit of us all. Nor must we allow them to be placed in circumstances which might compel them, from sound reasons of prudence, to abandon any measure which is in itself desirable.

Statesmen of this world have not changed their nature. It is not so long since the late Emperor Alexander of Russia remarked, at Erfurth:—"I experience no difficulty in affairs of religion; I am the head of my own Church."* We know that in the present day, as in the days of our forefathers, the secular power is always endeavoring to encroach on the ecclesiastical, to interfere as regards marriage, and a multitude of other matters within the Church's province; now, as of old, we require the strength and protection afforded by an appeal to Rome, and what would become of us if that central power was itself suffering oppression from the state, and consequently unable to afford us all the assistance we require? Why should it be unlikely to happen that the Pope, if a subject, might be banished and imprisoned in consequence of the firm performance of his sacred duties, as so often happens in the case of other bishops? He might be separated from his Cardinals, or be more or less deprived of necessary means of information, a thousand impediments might be put in his way. True he could never cease to be Pope, but his action or speech might be trammelled; true, whatever his condition, all faithful hearts must ever render him a homage no Emperor could command; but he might be reduced to such a state of external degradation that many a lukewarm soul might fall away, and his high office be exposed to the danger of contempt in the eyes of the multitude.

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* Alison.

If God brings it on us, He will certainly provide for all this; but woe be to us and to our children if we bring it on ourselves by apathy or indifference!

I cannot do better than quote, on this subject, the following noble words of the present Bishop of Orleans, in his recent protest. That venerable prelate speaks as follows:—

"You talk of the respect due to the wishes of peoples. Well! we Catholics, we too are a people; we are two hundred millions scattered over the face of the earth; and it concerns our dearest and our most sacred interests that the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, which is intimately connected with the dignity, with the independence, and with the free action of the Church, should not suffer any detriment. We will not permit, and the general conscience of the Catholics cannot permit, at least without an energetic protest, (which will be heard by God, because it is the protest of right and of weakness, against violence and oppression.) No! we will not permit the Papacy to be attacked or morally cast down from its throne by the infamous force of fraudulent compulsion.

"You say that you can lay your hands on the Sovereign without doing injury to the Pontiff. Beyond all doubt the temporal power is not of Divine institution; who is there that knows not this?—but it is of Providential institution, and who so blind as not to see it? True, for full three centuries the Popes had no other independence but that of martyrdom, but most certainly even then, they were entitled to another manner of independence: and Providence, who visibly supported them, but who does not always use miracles as its means, established the liberty and the independence which is necessary to the Church, on a basis more legitimate than any sovereignty in Europe. History proves it beyond a doubt; all great men have acknowledged it, and true politicians know it well. *This is the work of centuries*, said Napoleon I. with his accustomed quickness of perception, *this is the work of centuries*, *and the centuries have done well.*"

"Yes, it is necessary, for the Church's liberty and for our own, that the Pope should be *free* and *independent.* It is necessary that this independence should be *sovereign;* it is necessary that the Pope should be *free, and that every one should see him to be free;* it is necessary that the Pope should be free in his own States, as well as free from all external influence. This is necessary for the quiet of the Church and the tranquility of our consciences; this is requisite, so that, in the wars too common among Christian powers, he may securely maintain that neutrality which belongs to the common Father of all the faithful. Nor is it sufficient that the Pope should be free in the internal court of his own conscience; it is requisite that his liberty should be apparent; that in the eyes of all he should be manifestly free; that he should be known to be so; that all should believe it, and that no one should be able to raise even a doubt or a suspicion concerning it. Even if in the bottom of his soul he were free, should he externally appear to be, I will not say oppressed, but merely subject to the power of a foreign prince; for example, of the Emperor of Austria, or of Russia, we should all suffer from it; he would not seem to us sufficiently free, and a natural distrust would perhaps lessen in many, it may be unconsciously to themselves, the respect and obedience which they still would owe to him. In fact, it is necessary that his action, his will, his decrees, his word, and his sacred person, should enjoy the full and free exercise of authority, rising above all influences, all interests, all human passions; so that neither discontented interests, nor irritated passions, should have even the shadow of a right to raise complaints against him."

"This doctrine is confirmed by the example of Pius IX. himself, when on occasion of his flight from Rome, to which he was constrained by the outrages and violence of rebels, he made this solemn protest:— 'Among the motives which have induced us to this separation, the most important is, that we may possess full liberty in the exercise of the supreme power of the Holy See; which exercise, under present circumstances, might be suspected by the Catholic universe to be no longer free in our hands.'"

I have already once cited the first Consul,

—now hear what he said when he aspired to the glory of Charlemagne: " The institution which maintains the unity of the faith, that is the Pope, guardian of Catholic unity, is an admirable institution. . . . The Pope is far from Paris, and it is well: he is neither at Madrid nor Vienna; and precisely on this account we support the yoke of his spiritual authority. The same must be said at Madrid and at Vienna. Can it be supposed that if the Pope were at Paris, the Viennese or the Spaniard would consent to receive his decisions? Happy is it for us that he inhabits that ancient Rome. . . . . It is the centuries which have done this, and they have done well. For the government of souls it is the best, the most benificent institution which can be conceived. I maintain these assertions not from the obstinacy of a devotee, but from the conviction of reason."*

But I may appeal to higher testimony still. Our present Holy Father himself, in his recent Encyclical Letter to the Catholic

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* Thier's Hist. du Consulat et de l'Empire.

Hierarchy throughout the world,* in a very marked manner says:—

"WE PUBLICLY DECLARE THAT THE CIVIL PRINCIPALITY IS NECESSARY TO THIS HOLY SEE, IN ORDER THAT WITHOUT ANY IMPEDIMENT, IT MAY BE ABLE TO EXERCISE ITS SACRED POWER FOR THE BENEFIT OF RELIGION."

Such words, at such a time, and from such lips, will surely prove sufficient to rouse all our hearts!

XIII.

Social interests involved.

I need but refer to the pages of history, throughout, to convince any impartial mind of the debt *Society* owes to the Papacy. When all else was chaos, the Papacy and the Church, by precept, by example, and by hard enduring struggle with the iron will of tyrants and oppressors, succeeded in establishing and in nursing the elements of order and of liberty, in modern Europe. It was the Popes whose voice was ever raised alike in defence of the just title of kings to the obedience of their subjects, and of the just title of subjects to protection and fatherly care, in place of oppression, from the hands of sovereigns.

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* I here subjoin the original Latin of the passage which I have quoted, with its immediate context.

"Dum Nos rebellionis hujusmodi actus et reprobamus, et dolemus, quibus quædam tantum populi pars turbatis in iisdem provinciis injuste adeo respondet paternis studiis, curisque Nostris, ac dum *necessarium esse palam edicimus Sanctæ huic Sedi civilem principatum, ut in bonum religionis sacram protestatem sine ullo impedimento exercere possit*, quem quidem civilem Principatum extorquere eidem comnituntur vaferrimi hostes Ecclesiæ Christi, Vobis in tanto rerum turbine præsentes damus litteras, Venerabiles Fratres, ut aliquod dolori Nostro solatium quæramus."

It was the Popes who maintained the holiness of the family tie, and whose constancy never quailed even beneath the angry frown of kings, in upholding to the uttermost, the inviolable sanctity of marriage. When Philip Augustus of France sought to be freed from his wife Ingelburga of Denmark, and obtained that in open court, in her presence but herself unheard, the marriage should be declared void; then the cry of that injured woman arose to Rome. She understood not the language, but as well as she could, she exclaimed on hearing the sentence of the French court, "Ill done France! ill done France!"—and she added; "Rome! Rome!" "Sublime word," adds the French historian, "of innocence oppressed, appealing to the protector God had given her in the Chair of St. Peter." And Rome did her justice, though the contest with that proud king was a hard one; he submitted at last, but not before in his rage he had exclaimed, "I will turn infidel; happy Saladin who had no Pope!"

Where, but in the history of the Popes, will you find such instances as this, of determined unyielding defence of injured female innocence? of a persevering contest, not for temporal power or possession, but simply for the enforcement of a moral and religious duty from the strong towards the weak?

The sacredness of marriage lies at the root of all social order, and it cannot escape our notice how it is precisely in those countries which have turned away from the voice of the Popes that the marriage bond has become loosened, so that even divorce courts are established to legalize adultery, and the law of the land acknowleges as permissible, that which the command of God condemns.

But, although, alas! so many heed no more the voice of Peter, it still exists for Catholics; it exists moreover as a solemn protest before God and man. Therefore, beware how you weaken that voice or obscure it, by allowing it to be robbed of the means which Providence has given for its full and free exercise.

There is another and a most important manner in which the present, or any, attack on the temporal rights of the Holy See, becomes an attack on the social interests of mankind. Both the foundation and the keystone of social order are contained in the divine principle and command:—"Let every soul be subject to higher powers: for there is no power but from God: and those that are, are ordained of God. Therefore, he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God."*

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* Romans xiii. 1, 2.

Never was there a grosser violation of this principle, or breach of this command, than in the case of the present revolt in the Romagna and the Legations. What pretext have those rebels save their own lawless will? What is it but the cry,—"We will not have Christ's Vicar to reign over us, give us a king like other nations, or let us rule ourselves?" And think you the strong flood of human will when once it bursts this moral barrier, will stop till it has overflowed the world? On what plea can you repress discontented murmuring in any country, if you once yield to this pernicious violation of all moral right? If England sanctions this, what could she answer should Malta seek union with Italy, the Ionian islands with Greece, and Ireland claim independence? And what shall we say of India? Have we half the title to these possessions that the Holy See has to the States of the Church?

The Pope's temporal sovereignty eminently represents the force of moral right, it is a standing witness to the sacredness of constituted authority. It is not maintained by the strength of his armies or the wealth of his treasury. His kingdom is not of this world. And the means by which it is kept independent of this world, are not worldly means. It rests on a title of right unequalled throughout the universe; in right it is strong, in human might it is powerless. If you suffer that right to be impaired, you undermine the foundation of all lawful rule, by conceding to man's will the power to subvert that rule whenever it suits his fancy. No human government is perfect, in every country may be found some class of persons who have just ground for complaint; once admit the principle that this entitles them to stir up rebellion, and you overthrow the strongest safeguard of authority, of order and of personal liberty. For if you allow man's will the license it desires, how can you secure liberty for the weak? Every true friend to the sacred cause of real liberty is bound to do his utmost to oppose the organized resistance to authority we now see in Italy, a resistance whose calm determined character renders it more truly diabolic, (though with less outward show of the horror its surface conceals,) than even the wild excesses of an infuriated mob.

Respect for constituted authority is the groundwork of freedom. What is it that makes England the very pattern of true liberty? What is it which enables us pre-eminently to designate as 'par excellence' the "gloriously free?"

"This royal throne of Kings, this sceptered isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,
This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world."

What, I ask, is it which enables us to say of this our England, that, search the world over, you will never find a country where man enjoys more perfect and full liberty of speech and of action? The cause of it is twofold. Englishmen not only ask liberty for themselves, they respect the liberty of their fellow-countrymen. This is one cause, and the other is closely allied to it. In the English breast is implanted deep respect for law, respect for established rights, respect for constituted authority. We know the distress which sometimes falls on whole masses of our population, yet how seldom are riots the consequence?. We know how often some political change is demanded, yet how rarely are unlawful means for obtaining it had recourse to? however eagerly, however justly any class of men may desire reform in any particular, they would instantly defeat their purpose and draw the reprobation of the whole community upon themselves, if they sought to obtain their object by violent, rebellious, or unconstitutional measures.

Once destroy the principle of respect for law and for constituted authority and rights; and sooner or later the result will be anarchy, and ultimately, tyranny and despotism on the part of the many or the few, in the place of social order and personal liberty.

I say, then, unhesitatingly, that the policy, alas, so advocated by our press, of sympathy with the revolt in Italy, is inimical to real freedom, is essentially an un-English policy. It is one which, applied to our own affairs, every Englishman would abhor; are we then to commit the injustice of advocating in a foreign state principles we should unhesitatingly condemn at home? principles, which I repeat, are subversive both of social order and of personal liberty.

And let it not be replied,—"We seek not to dethrone the Pope, we only unite with those who ask a separate government for a portion of his states!" I very much question, whatever is asked, whether this is all that is wanted: but suppose it were, the principle of right and of justice, the divine title to obedience possessed by every constituted authority is none the less violated. Let us again hear the Bishop of Orleans.

"You say," thus his Lordship speaks, "you say you will only take from the Pope the Romagna and the Legations. But permit me to ask you, by what right? And why, in the name of heaven, will you not seize upon the rest of his dominions? Why in your dreams of Italian unity, are the cities which, many thanks to you, you leave him, to suffer a different lot from Bologna and Ferrara? Without any fear of self-contradiction you talk to us of the ancient limits of territory; well, if we must return to those ancient limits, what will become of the possessions of the House of Savoy and so many others? Why not rather be content to leave the Pope nothing more than Rome and the gardens of the Vatican? Already have you spoken of it; we know it well. But why leave him even Rome? Successor of him who had not a stone on which to lay his head, by what reason should he possess one in all Europe on which to repose his own? Would not the best condition for the Church be that of the times of Diocletian and the Catacombs?.......I protest," concludes the Bishop, "in the name of truth against falsehood; in the name of order against anarchy; in the name of respect against the contempt of all rights. I protest in my conscience, and before God, my country, the Church, and the whole world. Be it or be it not, that this my protestation has any effect, and is heard afar off, I have fulfilled a duty."

XIV.

Political Interests Involved.

It used to be an axiom amongst politicians, and I have not heard that wise ones have even yet abandoned it, that every state was *politically* interested in maintaining the independent sovereignty of the Head of the Church, because his moral influence is so great with a large number of the people in every country where the Catholic religion prevails, (and what free country is without Catholics?) that it is necessary none but himself should exercise the great power this gives him. It is necessary for the security of all countries that no state interests should be mixed up with the administration of his supreme pastoral duties. If he were in the position of a subject, there would be a danger lest the temporal ruler of his country should seek his own personal aggrandizement through the influence exercised by the Pope, who, humanly speaking, would be under his control. I cannot do better than quote Mons. Veuillot's* account of an interview with the late

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* **Univers, 26 Juin, 1859. Ed semi-quotidienne.**

Prince Metternich, during which the Prince made the following remarks upon this subject.

"All nations of the world are interested in the independence of the Sovereign Pontiff. Without resting the necessity of the liberty of the Pope, and of the maintenance of the States of the Church on reasons of a spiritual nature, which, with many persons might have no weight, I say to every one,—you cannot deny visible facts, you cannot deny that Christianity is the life of Europe, and that consequently the Head of the Christian religion must be an extremely great and powerful person in Europe, and one whom no one has ever attacked with impunity. You cannot deny that this great and powerful person must have some habitation. It follows, then, that he must either dwell in his own house, or in that of some other person. If he dwells with another person, he is in the power of another person. Now, I, having Catholic subjects, that is to say, subjects who look up to the Pope, how can I, without exposing myself to the greatest inconveniences, allow the Pope to have a master? That master of the Pope, whoever he might be, would become master in my dominions by means of the Pope's dependence upon him, and, on many occasions which it is easy to foresee, he would be more of a master than myself. It is not as a Catholic, I add, it is in behalf of my Sovereign that I wish the Pope to be independent, and not the guest of another man.......

"I said this, one day, to Napoleon, when the Pope was at Savona, a prisoner in the hands of France. Napoleon had a certain affection for me, and knew that the Pope honored me with some degree of confidence; he called me one day, and said, 'Do me a service. I am tired of the captivity of the Pope. It is a state of things from which no good can result, and which it is important should not be prolonged. I am desirous you should go to Savona. The Pope entertains friendly feelings towards you, you will speak to him in my behalf, as a mutual friend, and you will induce him to agree to a plan, which I have conceived, to terminate this unhappy affair.'

"I asked for his plan. 'It is this,' said

Napoleon, without emotion, 'the future seat of the Church shall no longer be at Rome but at Paris'.......

"I could not restrain a movement of surprise, and a smile of incredulity.

" 'Yes,' replied the formidable man, 'I will make the Pope come to Paris, and I will establish there the seat of the Church; but I wish the Sovereign Pontiff to be independent; I will give him a fitting establishment close by the capital, I will give him a château, and, in order that he may be independent in it, I will command that the territory shall be held neutral for a circuit of some leagues. He shall have there his college of Cardinals, his diplomatic circle, his congregations, his court, and in order that he may want for nothing, I will endow him with an annual revenue of six millions. Do you think he will refuse that?

" 'He will,' I replied; 'and all Europe will support him in his refusal. The Pope will consider, not unreasonably, that he will be as much a prisoner in your six millions as in Savona.'

"Napoleon loudly exclaimed against it,

strongly maintained his view, alleged a thousand overwhelming reasons. At last I said to him: 'Your Majesty leads me to betray a secret. The Emperor of Austria has had the same idea as yourself. He perceives it is not your pleasure to send back the Pope to Rome, he is desirous the Pope should no longer remain in prison, and he also has the idea of affording him an existence, Your Majesty knows the royal château of Schœnbrunn, the Emperor will bestow in on the Pope with a territory of ten or fifteen leagues, entirely neutral; he will add, as an endowment, a revenue of twelve millions. If the Pope accepts that arrangement, will you consent to it?'

"He perfectly understood the point of my reply; but he was the strongest, and he would have the opinion of Pius VII. upon his plan. The Sovereign Pontiff answered, as I had easily foreseen he would do, 'That Savona seemed to him as good a prison as Paris, that there, as elsewhere, he was at the centre of the Church; that his conscience was his free territory, that six millions a year were not necessary for his requirements, and that twenty sous a day was enough for him, which he would willingly receive as alms from Christendom."

To rule Europe through the Pope was one of Napoleon's favorite schemes. He once remarked, "Do not fear my depriving the Pope of power, he can never be too powerful for my purpose." What that purpose was we learn from Las Cases,* according to whom Napoleon said:

"By keeping the Pope at Paris, and annexing the Roman States to my dominions, I had obtained *the important object of separating his temporal from his spiritual authority*; and, having done so, I would have elevated him beyond measure; I would have surrounded him with pomp and homages; I would have caused him no longer to regret his temporal authority; I would have rendered him an idol; *he should have had his residence near my person.* Paris would have become the capital of the Christian world; *I would*

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* Quoted by Alison, Hist. of Europe, ch. lvii.

have directed the religious world as well as the political. It was an additional means of uniting all the parts of the empire, and keeping in peace whatever was beyond it. I would have had *my religious sessions* as well as legislative; *my council* would have been the assembly of the representatives of Christianity; *the Popes would have been nothing but its presidents*; I would have opened and closed these assemblies, approved and published their decisions, &c."

No comments of mine could strengthen the force of this testimony from politicians such as Napoleon and Metternich; but I may add a few words from a speech delivered by our own Lord Lansdowne, in the House of Lords, on July 21st, 1849:

"The circumstances of the Pope's Sovereignty," said the noble Lord, "have this special peculiarity. While, as a temporal power, he is only a monarch of the fourth or fifth class, at the same time, from his spiritual power, he enjoys a sovereignty unequalled in the whole world. *Every state which has Roman Catholics among its subjects is interested* *in the condition of the Roman States, and is called upon to be watchful, that the Pope may be free to exercise his authority, without being fettered by any temporal influence of a nature to affect his spiritual power.*"

XV.

Protestant Testimony.

On the whole subject, the remarks of a Protestant historian, already quoted, will not be suspected of partiality. In reference to the outrages committed by Napoleon I., in the case of Pope Pius VII., Sir Archibald Alison observes:*

"Bossuet has assigned the reason with his usual elevation of thought, why this spoliation of all the possessions of the Supreme Pontiff, by a secular power, ever must be prejudicial to the best interests of religion. 'God has chosen,' says he, 'that the Church, the common mother of all nations, should be independent of all in its temporal affairs, and that the common centre to which all the faithful should look for the unity of their faith, should be placed in a situation above the partialities which the different interests and jealousies of states might occasion. The Church, independent in its head of all temporal powers, finds itself in a situation to exercise more freely, for the common good and protection of Christian kings, its celestial power of ruling the mind, when it holds in the right hand the balance, even amidst so many empires, often in a state of hostility; it maintains unity in all its parts, sometimes by inflexible decrees, sometimes by sage concessions.' " Alison then proceeds in his own words. "The principle which calls for the independence of the Head of the Church from all temporal sovereignties, is the same which requires the emancipation of its subordinate ministers from the contributions of their flocks. Human nature in every rank is the same; the thraldom of vice and passion is felt alike in the cottage as on the throne; the subjection of the Supreme Pontiff to the direct control of France or Austria," (and the same remark of course would apply to any control whatever,) "is as fatal to his character and respectability, as the control of the rural congregations is to the utility of the village pastor. Admitting that the court of Rome has not always shown itself free from tramontane influence, it has at least been less swayed than if it had had its residence at Vienna or Paris; supposing that the conclave of the Cardinals has often been swayed by selfish or ambitious views, it has been much less exposed to their effects than if it had been wholly dependent on external potentates for support. Equity in judgment, whether in temporal or in spiritual matters, can never be attained but by those who are independent of those to whom the judgment is to be applied; coercion of vice, whether in exalted or humble stations, can never be effected by those who depend upon that vice for their support; the due direction of thought can never be given but by those who are not constrained to bend to the thoughts of others. *It will ever be the great object of tyranny, whether regal or democratic, to beat down this central independent authority*; *to render the*

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* History of Europe, ch. lvii.

censors of morals subservient to the dominant power; and, under the specious pretense of emancipating mankind from spiritual shackles, in effect to subject them to a far more grievous temporal oppression."

I am tempted to add the following extract from another historian, at the time a Swiss Protestant minister, though now, by God's grace, a Catholic. In his celebrated life of Innocent III., Hurter thus writes:—

"If Christianity has not been trampled down as a sect in a corner of the globe; if it has not been reduced to a simple formula, like to the religion of the Hindoos, or if it has not lost its European energy in the midst of the voluptuousness of the East, it is owing to the vigilance and severity of the Roman Pontiffs, to their constant care to maintain unity in the bosom of the Church."

I maintain, then, that all Christians are most closely interested in the temporal rights of the Holy See, and that it is the duty of all to support those rights by every means in their power. And inasmuch as Christians hold their religion in solemn trust for every human being, the whole world (though the heathen knows it not) is deeply interested in the spread and furtherance of Christianity: it is interested also in the well-being of society, and in the soundness of the political principles which govern it.

Therefore I maintain that the *Religious*, *Social*, and *Political interests of the whole world*, demand that no sacrilegious hand be permitted to derogate, in the slightest tittle, the smallest iota, from the Temporal Rights conferred by Almighty God upon the Holy and Apostolic See of Rome.

XVI.

Conclusion.

If all this be true, and who can gainsay it? why should I add another word as to the conclusions to be drawn from these truths? Who is there that realizes them, and that has a heart to respond to them, who will not feel bound before God, to exert himself to the utmost, by every legitimate means, to defend those sacred rights? It is no idle contest, it is truly *pro aris et focis*, for our altars and our hearths!—for ourselves, and for our children, and for the generations which are to come after. If we are wanting in our duty now, what reproaches may not echo over our graves! and those reproaches would be just. And, we, who are alive to the importance of the high interests at stake, are concerned not only for ourselves, but for those who know them not; we hold our knowledge and our religion in trust for others, and woe be to us if, through our fault, others suffer who have not the same heavenly knowledge as ourselves. How shall we answer it before God if we fail in this our present duty.

Let it not be replied, "This is the cause of God, and to God we may leave its defence." God's cause it assuredly is, but if God offers man the privilege of upholding His cause, and man turns aside from the offer, and wills not the earthly cost it entails, he may refuse the honor, but he cannot avoid the responsibility of such a refusal. Most assuredly God will find means to maintain the Papacy, whether by temporal sovereignty or temporal suffering, or as His Divine wisdom may decree; but, if we refuse to do our part in the work, will God leave us unchastised?

God promised Palestine to the Jews, and His promise did not fail, but because they would not hear His voice, a whole generation passed away before that promised land was gained; nor did God exempt those who entered it from hard toil and painful conflict with the enemy. God's promises never absolve man from his duties.

See what God has given us! A Pope, an Episcopate, a priesthood, which, for holiness, zeal, and learning, perhaps no Christian age has ever seen surpassed; and if, in return, we stand idly by and see God's Vicar on earth robbed of his temporal dignity; robbed of the means given him to fulfil, with freedom, the duties of his supreme office; if we stir no finger to help him in this his hour of need; can we really believe there is a God in heaven, and not tremble at the thought, how, in just retribution, there may fall upon us that severest of all His judgments, a lukewarm, or even a corrupt Episcopate and Clergy. Or He may punish us by the very consequences of our neglect. We well know how the Church in Austria suffered before the late Concordat, through the obstacles interposed by the State to her free intercourse with Rome; we know how every Church must suffer when she drinks not of the fulness of the streams which God dispenses by the hand of Peter. If we suffer any secular power to impair the pure and full gushing of those refreshing waters at their very source, to tamper with them at the very fountainhead, the drought and the parching which came upon that Austrian Church,* may be extended over all the world! God avert such a chastisement!

Ah! with all my heart I own that we are

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* M. Ch. Lenormant, in the Correspondant of April, 1858, remarks:—"The conclusion of the Concordat with Austria, has terminated a state of things the most serious in which a Church was ever placed, without reaching altogether the consummation of schism. The Catholic element was undergoing a process of slow dissolution in the Austrian monarchy; the Concordat restores to it vigor and life, by re-establishing its independence."

bound to battle to the death for our orphans and our prisoners; for all whose faith is in danger because their poverty exposes them to the ravages of the spoiler. Yes! their cause too, is the cause of God Himself. But, I say also, that their cause is included in the other, the cause of Peter is the cause of the orphan and the widow, of the fatherless and the poor; you cannot attack one without attacking the other. For the orphan's sake, let us not desert Peter! Can we do so and not tremble lest God should desert us?

As Englishmen, we enjoy great privileges, and every privilege brings with it a corresponding responsibility. As Englishmen, we have constitutional means of making our voice heard and our influence felt. This entails upon us the duty of using these means; it renders us, each in his degree, responsible for the acts of our rulers, if we neglect to do so. We are bound before God and before man to speak, to make our influence felt by the statesmen who wield England's power It is idle for Catholics to complain of the foreign policy of our Government if they move not a finger to alter it. If, as Englishmen, we fail to do our part; if we omit any lawful means which God has given us, to raise our voice and exert our influence in defence of Himself and of St. Peter, in the person of our Holy Father Pius IX., if, even without protest, without effort, we see Christ dishonored in His Vicar, and never use our English rights in his behalf, may we not justly fear that God may suffer us again to lose those rights, which, by His mercy, Catholics now enjoy as well as others?

Let us tremble at this, rather than at the fear of human opposition! If God and Peter are with us, who can do us harm?—if they are against us, what human protection can avail? If it be true that a withering blight falls on the hand raised against Peter, it is also true that a never failing blessing accompanies those who fight for Peter.

But, after all, in spite of Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Dickens, of Punch and of the Times, I do not believe that Protestant Englishmen really care much about the matter; if we shew timidity, we shall only be despised, and no one will think our cause worth a jot; if we act boldly, we shall command respect, and may win many to our side; for I maintain again and again, that our cause is the cause of England and of freedom, of civilization and of God.

Catholics require to be known; like the Popes, all we want is, that the truth should be known concerning us. Then let us not fear to show ourselves. And let no man say, what can I do? I will wait for my betters; if so, we shall all stand waiting for the other, and nothing will be done. Oh, my God, put into the hearts of each, high and low, rich and poor, to do, *each one what he can, and all he can*, let each strive to influence his neighbor; let us not fail to use *all and every constitutional means, which Englishmen so well know how to use when they are in earnest.* And let all be done without a word, and without a deed, which can give just cause for offence. Let us act as men who are fighting for God, as men who have to answer to God for every act, *and for every omission;* when we have honestly used every lawful means which God puts in our power; when we have *really* done all we can, and done it heartily; then, but not till then, can we lay our hands upon our hearts, and say, "We have delivered our souls, we have done our utmost. And now, O God, do Thou the rest!"

In the words of St. Ignatius of Loyola, "Let us pray as if all depended upon God, but act as if all depended on ourselves." Let us act fearlessly and manfully, with never failing trust in the Heaven which is looking down upon us. Timidity never stayed the course of any enemy of God or man, much less will it do so now, when the marauder is at the very gates.

It is a noble cause; a cause worth dying for; that cause of the Papacy!

The Papacy is the soul of the world. It is the Papacy which preserves it from moral decay and death.

Remove the Papacy, in imagination, from the history of Europe, and what is left? take the Popes away, and what is the evident result? Chaos, anarchy, corruption! the will of the strongest, man's only law.

The Papacy is the very key-stone of Christian society; it is the salt of the earth; the city on a hill; the candle upon a candlestick, shining before the whole world!

Its beginning and its end, its only aim, its life, its one glorious object, is, in very truth, the continuation of the Angel's song which resounded o'er the hills and plains of Palestine, on that blessed night, whose return we are preparing to commemorate,—

"Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will."

Sub tuum præsidium,
Regina sine labe originali concepta!

We append the following able article from the London *Tablet*, in relation to the Bull of Excomunication.

Our Protestant contemporaries are making merry over the notion that the thunders of the Vatican will carry no lightning along with them, that the sentence of excommunication will pass unheeded, provoking contempt instead of awe, and bearing witness to the decay of that power which once was mighty enough to bring Kings and Emperors to their knees, and compel their submission to justice. And it may be that in an age so enlightened that human reason usurps the place of faith, and the Gospel is clipped and fashioned to each man's taste,—this taking what he likes, and that rejecting what he dislikes—the anathema of Christ's Vicar may be mocked by many; may strike without being heeded; may make the lip curl instead of tremble. We could indeed hardly expect anything else. For fifteen months we have been witnesses of events which have proved too plainly that in England and in the Governments of France and Northern Italy the principles of justice are in abeyance to passion, to prejudice, to the lust of dominion, to self-will, to hypocrisy. Honor had no place in this vast drama on the victor's side. English prejudice watched its progress with one hope, indulged at all hazards—the overthrow of religion. To gain that end, every step was right, no matter how unjust, every agent a hero, no matter how vile. Treaties were mocked. All the influence of British opinion, fitly represented by the Whig Government, was lent to consummate spoliation, and to encourage the Italians to render impossible the treaty which their so-called liberator had but just made. What the Pope held by the consent and for the benefit of Christendom, and by the prescription of centuries, was taken from him in spite of the neutrality of his States, guaranteed at the commencement of the war; and the theft and the robbers were applauded to the echo. What part France and Sardinia, and their agents in the Dutchies and Bologna, played in these events, it is needless to repeat.

That men who have long meditated, and have now accomplished, the crime which merits sentence of excommunication, should make light of it, only shows how complete is their wickedness, and what a hollow and lying figment is their pretended anxiety for the strengthening of the Church's spiritual authority. It proves, too, that the ultimate tendency of the doctrines professed by Mr. DEASY, at the last Cork Election is to subject the Church to the judgment of her children, and limit her jurisdiction and her respect, not by her Divine Commission, but by their opinion and will. It is, in other words, to dethrone the only authority upon earth to which the Catholic can look for guidance in doubt; to oust of his jurisdiction the only judge whose decisions are framed in the presence of God; to place the world above the Church, which God has placed above the world; and to renew under a pseudo Christianity the desolation of paganism. If King Victor Emanuel and M. Farini may determine the question of conscience what part of his states be left to the Pope and what part taken from him—may not a private gentleman settle a similar question with reference to any portion of his neighbor's goods which may lie within his grasp, without dread of the confessional or the excommunication which ensues upon neglecting it? If he may, may he not also, as the best judge of what, or how much, or how little, he may eat for the health of his body, dispense himself from fast and abstinence? And what is to prevent him from deciding upon other questions of discipline or morality, when he assumes the right of defining for himself the point at which the authority of the Church begins and his own ends? That some Catholics do decide these points we all know; and that this usurpation of the Church's powers leads many of them ultimately out of the Church to infidelity and perdition, is again true. Such a penalty is the logical result of such a usurpation. For God will neither be mocked nor robbed with impunity; and the Catholic—we speak only of Catholics just now—who sets himself above his Church, acknowledges this double crime while he commits and perseveres in it. It is to him the Church of God, yet he appoints it its limit; its Chief Pastor he confesses to be the Vicar of Christ, yet he robs him, or justifies those who do. To this extent has Liberalism sapped the foundations of our faith; to this woful extent have we clipped and pared down our Christian inheritance, to be on good terms with our neighbors, and to go with the times.

We go further, then, than our Protestant contemporaries, and think it not improbable that the sentence of excommunication will seem an unwise proceeding in the eyes of thousands of Catholics who have had no part in the spoliation of the Church; but who, as enlightened men, are opposed to the revival of medieval ceremonies in an age which has learned to disregard them. But if times are changed, God's arm is not shortened. Louis Napoleon and Victor Emanuel and their agents may laugh the sentence of excommunication to scorn. The Italians who willingly or in cowardice have voted the consummation of a sacrilegious theft, may deride the judgment which marks them out for reprobation. Enlightened Catholics everywhere may treat it as imprudent or ridiculous. All this does not alter the fact that the sentence has been pronounced by the Judge who has the right to pronounce it, and whose power does not change with men's opinions, but remains, and will be to the end what it was in the beginning. If Catholics slight that Power, let them beware.

It is one and the same with that which gives them the Sacraments. If they doubt it, they belong to the age, and not to the Church. Their religion is "opinion," not the "Gospel."

And let not our Protestant friends be too much elated at the absence of that terror which in the ages of faith the sentence of excommunication carried along with it. If through the decay of faith and the progress of "liberal" principles the conscience of mankind has become so deadened that Catholic princes, statesmen and electors deride the thunders of the Vatican, the Church is not the only loser. Heresy suffers along with her, but not as she suffers. Every day since the hands of impious princes were stretched forth to rob her she has been gaining strength. Cold hearts have been warming towards her, warm ones have burned with zeal. But had this been otherwise, had nations apostatised, and had even those who once loved her most fallen away from her, she would still have been grand in her desolation—the unbending, the unyielding, the eternal, the unchangeable! Not so those who have left her, or those who are imperiling the grace which unites them to her. They break away from her immutable laws to make laws for themselves; to act the crimes they have falsely imputed to her and her ministers; to make the World their God and their passions their spiritual directors. Before our Protestestant contemporaries mock the decay of the Pope's authority from its early glory, let them reflect on the issues of that decay which lie like plague-spots over English society. Commercial dishonesty in men of the highest respectability; perfidy of trustees so widespread that no man in his senses will confide if he can help it; Joint-stock frauds innumerable, gigantic in dimensions, and some of long standing and marvelous infamy. Let them look at their religious bodies disunited ; the brotherhood, the community of Christians, destroyed by that act which threw off the authority of the Pope. Let them look at their work-houses filled with godless and unvirtuous poor; at their streets overflowing with pollution; and at that vast sore of domestic infidelity which the Divorce Court has brought to light, and which it will infallibly spread. That there was perfidy and vice while the Pope's authority was in force is true, for had there been none, that authority would be needless. But break down that authority, which acts immediately upon every conscience under the awful sanction of Divine threats and promises, and what is to oppose them? Again, break it down, and what is to restrain those Princes who may conspire to trouble the peace of Europe? Even now, while the press is chuckling over the little heed which Louis Napoleon and Victor Emanuel pay to the Pope's sentence of Excommunication, the impious hands which drew down that sentence by annexing the Romagna, have also annexed Savoy. And if they are right, as Protestants say they are, in annexing the one, they are right in annexing the other, and in annexing whatever else they can, till Europe, having no longer a Papal power strong enough to depose unjust Princes, confederates against them, exhausts her riches, sacrifices her children, and deluges her plains with blood. And then the derided Excommunication will take effect—for God will not be mocked.

BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION

PROMULGATED BY HIS HOLINESS PIUS IX. AGAINST THE DESPOILERS OF THE CHURCH.

The following is a translation of the Letter Apostolic of the Holy Father, by which the punishment of the Greater Excommunication is inflicted upon all who have been guilty of rebellion in the Romagna, or of the usurpation, occupation, or invasion of those Provinces; or who have commanded, favored, helped, counselled, or adhered to those things, or have in any way procured their doing, or done any of them:

As the Catholic Church, founded and instituted by Christ our Lord, to provide for the eternal salvation of men, hath obtained by virtue of its divine institution the form of a perfect society, it follows that it must possess such an amount of freedom as to be subject in the discharge of its sacred ministry to no Civil Power. And inasmuch as in order to act freely (as was reasonable,) it required those safeguards which were suited to the condition and need of the times, therefore, by a special counsel of Divine Providence, it was brought to pass that when the Roman Empire fell, and was divided into several kingdoms, the Roman Pontiff, whom Christ appointed the Head and Centre of His whole Church, should obtain civil sovereignty. And thus it was most wisely provided by God Himself that, amid the great number and variety of temporal Princes, the Supreme Pontiff should enjoy that political liberty which is so necessary for exercising over the whole word, and without any impediment, his spiritual power, authority and jurisdiction. And this was plainly suitable, lest the Catholic world should have any occasion to suspect that that See (to which on account of its greater excellence, it is necessary for every Church to resort) could ever be directed in in the administration of its universal charge by the impulsion of the Civil Powers, or by the passions of parties.

It is easily understood how the sovereignty of the Roman Church, though in its own nature it savors of the temporal, yet is clothed with a spiritual character by reason of its sacred destination and that close link which unites it with the highest interests of Christianity. But this by no means prevents all those things being accomplished which conduce also to the temporal happiness of nations, as the history of the civil rule exercised for so many ages by the Roman Pontiffs clearly testifies.

Since, then, the Sovereignty of which we speak makes for the benefit and advantage of the Church, it is not strange that the enemies of the Church often endeavor, with manifold snares and contrivances, to uproot and subvert it; yet so that by the help of God, who constantly assists His Church, these nefarious plots sooner or later have come to nothing. But the whole world knoweth how, in these sad times, the most bitter foes of the Catholic Church and of this Apostolic See—men "who have made themselves abominable in their desires, speaking lies with hypocrisy," wickedly endeavor, in contempt of all divine and human laws, to despoil this See of the Sovereignty which it possesses, and seek to effect this, not as elsewhere by open aggression and force of arms, but by false and pernicious principles, cunningly advanced, and by popular movements wickedly excited. For they blush not to instigate the people to impious rebellion against legitimate rulers, things which are clearly and openly condemned by the Apostle when he teacheth, "Let every soul be subject to the higher Powers. For there is no power but from God, and the Powers that be are ordained by God. Therefore, they who resist rulers resist the ordinance of God, and they that resist, purchase to themselves damnation." And while these masters in iniquity attack the temporal power of the Church, and condemn her venerable authority, they have grown so impudent as continually to boast openly of their reverence and obedience to the Church. Especially is it to be deplored that some of those have sullied themselves by this depraved conduct, who as Sons of the Catholic Church, were bound to exert for her defence and protection the authority which they possess over the nations subject to them.

In the fraudful and perverse intrigues which we lament, the Sardinan Government has a chief part. All men have long known how many and how deplorable losses and injuries have been inflicted by it on the Church, and on her rights and sacred ministers. We have complained vehemently of them especially in our consistorial allocution, delivered on January 22, 1855. After so far despising our most just protests on this head, that government next carried its rashness so far as to do the whole Church the wrong of attacking the Civil Sovereignty with which God hath chosen that this Holy See should be provided for guarding and defending (as we have already pointed out) the Apostolic Ministry. Of the open proofs of aggression, the first came to light, when in the Paris Congress of 1856, among several hostile plans, a certain specious proposition was made on the part of the said Sardinian Government to weaken the Civil Sovereignty of the Roman Pontiff, and to lessen his authority, and that of this Apostolic See. But when, in the year last past, the Italian war broke out between the Emperor of Austria and the Confederates, the French Emperor and the Sardinian King, no fraud or crime was omitted to impel, by every means, the people of our Pontifical dominions to a nefarious defection. Revolutionary emissaries were despatched; money was spent freely; arms were furnished; inflammatory appeals were made in wicked writings and newspapers, and every sort of deceit was employed, even by those who, while charged with the Embassy of that Government at Rome, paid no regard either to the laws of nations or to decency, but wrongfully abused their own functions in order to prosecute dark and pernicious intrigues against our Pontifical Government.

Next, when the sedition which had already been secretly prepared, broke out in some Provinces of our Pontifical Government, its promoters immediately proclaimed the Dictatorship of the King, and Commissioners were immediately appointed by the Sardinian Government who, being called afterwards by another name, assumed the rule of these Provinces. During these occurrences, We, mindful of our most weighty charge, did not fail in our two Allocutions delivered on June 20, and September 26, last year, loudly to complain of the violation of the civil sovereignty of this Holy See, and at the same time, seriously to remind the violators of the censures and penalties inflicted by the sacred canons, and which they had unhappily incurred. It might have been expected that the authors of these violations would, at our repeated admonitions and complaints, have desisted from their wicked purpose, especially since the Chief Pastors of the Universal Catholic World and the Faithful committed to their care, of every order, rank, and condition, joining their own remonstrances to ours, took up the defence of the cause of the Apostolic See, and of the whole Church and of justice; uniting with us in zealous unanimity, as knowing well how important the Civil Sovereignty in question is to the free jurisdiction of the Supreme Pontificate. But (we say it with horror,) the Sardinian Government not only despised our warnings and complaints and ecclesiastical penalties, but persisting in its wickedness, by means of a popular vote, which was extorted contrary to all right, by bribes, threats, intimidation, and other crafty arts, did not hesitate to invade the said provinces, to occupy them, and to reduce them under its own power and dominion. Words are wanting to reprove so great a crime, in which many and enormous crimes are included. For a fearful sacrilege is involved in a crime by which at one and the same time, contrary to natural and divine law, robbery is practised upon others, every rule of justice is broken, and the foundations are completely subverted of every civil sovereignty and of all human society.

Since, then, We perceive, on the one hand, to Our greatest grief, that renewed remonstrances will be of no avail with those who, like deaf adders, closing their ears, have hitherto been unmoved by Our warnings and plaints; and, on the other hand, deeply feel all that, in the midst of so much iniquity, the cause of the Church and of this Apostolic See, and of the whole Catholic world, absolutely demand from Us, so vehemently assailed as it is by the deeds of wicked men, We have, therefore, to take care lest by a longer delay We may appear to betray the duties of our weighty office. Thus, then, things have come to such a pass, that, following the illustrious steps of our predecessors, We are about to make use of that Supreme Authority with which we have been Divinely endowed both to loose and to bind, that so the guilty may experience a severity which they have too well deserved, and that it may be a salutary example to the rest. Therefore, having implored the light of the Holy Spirit by public and private prayers, after taking the counsel of a select Congregation of Our Brethren the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, by the authority of Almighty God and of the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, and by Ours, We declare all those who have been guilty of the nefarious rebellion in the said Provinces of Our Pontifical Dominions, or of their usurpation, occupation, invasion, and the like (concerning which We complained in our said Allocutions of June 20 and September 26, last year,) or of any of these things, and also those who commanded, favored, helped, counselled, or adhered to them, or others whosoever who procured, under whatever pretext, or in whatever way, the execution of the said things, or by themselves executed them, to have incurred the Greater Excommunication, and the other censures and Ecclesiastical penalties inflicted by the sacred Canons, the Apostolic Constitutions, and the Decrees of General Councils, especially that of Trent (Sess. xxii., cap. 11, De Reform.,) and, if need be, We excommunicate them anew, and We anathematize them, declaring also that they have likewise incurred the penalty of the loss of all and every privilege, favor, or indult whatsoever, howsoever granted them by Us or the Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors; and that they cannot be absolved and freed from these censures by any one save by Us or the Roman Pontiff for the time being (except when death is imminent, and then with the condidition that the same penalties shall attach again by the fact of reconvalescence); and further that they are disabled and incapacitated from obtaining the benefit of absolution until they shall have publicly retracted, revoked, annulled and abolished all their ill deeds, however done, and shall have fully and effectually restored all things to their former state, or shall otherwise have given due and condign satisfaction in the premises to us and to this Holy See. Therefore, by the tenor of these presents, We decree and declare that all of them, even those deserving of most special mention, and also their successors in their office, will never, by pretext of these present letters, or by any other pretext, be free or exempt from accomplishing in their own persons the retractation, revocation, annulment, and abolition of all the ill deeds aforesaid, or from otherwise making, really and effectually, due and condign satisfaction in the premises to the Church, to Us, and to this Holy See; but that they are, and ever will be, bound to do these things as the condition of their being able to obtain the benefit of absolution.

But while, impelled by sad necessity, we discharge with sorrow this part of our duty, we do not forget that we are His Vicar here on earth, who "wishes not the death of a sinner, but that he be converted and live," and who came into the world "to seek and to save that which was lost." Wherefore, in the humility of Our heart, we implore with fervent prayer His mercy that He will graciously illumine by the light of His divine grace all those against whom we have been compelled to employ the severity of Ecclesiastical punishment, and will lead them back by His Almighty power from the way of perdition to the path of salvation.

Herewith, by this letter, and all its contents, and all that has been said above, we order all who have participated in any way or in any manner, of whatever rank, dignity, or class they be, or whether they are individually mentioned or not, for whose sake the present letter has been written, and who are not sufficiently designated, or who, for any reason or pretence whatever, should doubt the signature or the value of this letter, or who should be brought before justice, and should appeal against it, or who should ask for grace, that this document is and shall always remain, and be considered valid, and shall be invariably and incontestably observed by those to whom it refers; they shall be responsible before every judge or deputy, also, before the auditors (auditores) of the Apostolic palace, and before the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Empire, and before the *ad latere legatum* and Nuncios of the the See, and before all who possess or will possess similar power, and they shall be deprived of all faculty and authority of judging or interpreting, and that if they do it they shall be declared invalid.

But as these letters cannot, as is notorious, be published everywhere, and especially in places where it would be most necessary, We will that they, or copies of them shall be affixed to the gates of the Lateran Church, of the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, of the Apostolic Chancery, of the Curia Generalis in Monte Citorio, and on the side of the Campo de' Fiori, as is customary, and be published; and that having been thus published and affixed, they shall bind all and singular whom they concern, just as if they had been intimated to each of them personally and by name.

We Will, also, that to transcripts or copies of these letters, even printed ones, if subscribed by the hand of any public notary, and furnished with the seal of any person of Ecclesiastical rank, the same belief shall be given everywhere in all places and in all nations both in court and out of court, as would be given to these Presents, if they were exhibited or shown.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's, under the Ring of the Fisherman, on the 26th day of

March, 1860, in the 14th year of Our Pontificate.

Lo † co Sigilli. PIUS PP. IX.

In the year of Our Lord's Nativity, 1860, Indict. III., on the 29th day of March, in the 14th year of Our Most Holy Father in Christ and Lord, by Divine Providence Our Lord Pope Pius IX., the present Apostolic Letters were affixed and published on the gates of the Lateran and Vatican Basilicas, of the Apostolic Chancery, of the Curia Innocenziana, and in the Campo de' Fiori, by me,

ALOYSIUS SERAFINI, Apostol. Cursor.
PHILIPPUS OSSANI, Magis. Cursor.